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MY FOREFATHERS

MY FOREFATHERS

THEIR HISTORY FROM RECORDS & TRADITIONS

BY

A. MAUNSELL BRADHURST

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DEDICATED
TO
MY ONLY CHILD,
CHRISTINE EVANGELINE MINNA ELIZABETH BRADHURST,
IN THE HOPE
THAT SHE WILL STRIVE TO EMULATE
ALL THAT WAS NOBLEST AND BEST
IN THE LIVES
OF
HER FOREFATHERS

THE AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND HIS APOLOGY

WITH fading memories, and the passing of those who form a link

ERRATA

P. 249, l. 19, *for* Broadhurst *read* Bradhurst.
P. 253, l. 17, „ „ „
P. 256, l. 15, „ „ „
P. 280, l. 10, *for* Flensberg *read* Flensburg.

by the ramifications of numerous intermarriages, I sought to make them clear (to the Reader for whose eye alone these pages were originally intended), by frequent explanations; and, thus, I have been guilty of tautology. Apart from the intermarriages of certain families both in the New World and the Old, it has been interesting to note the different parts played in the same scenes by contemporary ancestors,

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Wood, Charles Page

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Bradhurst, Broadhurst, de Bradehurst

BRADHURST

JONATHAN BRADHURST, of Derington = CATRINA, widow of REYNIER SCHAETS, of Schenectady, J.P.
[*m.* 23rd April, 1696] daughter of Dirck BENSEN, of Beverwyck
High Sheriff of Albany County, New York, from 1700 to 1702
Freeman of the city of New York, 1706

SAMUEL = Anna, daughter of the Hon. Thomas PELL, 3rd Lord of Pelham, by Anna, his wife
Baptised 1st September, 1700
Freeman of New York in 1725
Drowned in the Great Earthquake of 1st November, 1755, in the Port of Lisbon

SAMUEL = Anne, sister of John HEATH, of Perth Amboy
[*m.* 9th July, 1748]
(baptized 30th August, 1727; *d.* 28th April, 1762) (*b.* 1727: *d.* 28th May, 1761)

CATHERINE
m., 21st April, 1752, Nicholas BOGART, of Raritan, New Jersey

SAMUEL, of Pinehurst = Mary, daughter of Captain Richard SMITH (a British officer), of Monmouth County, New Jersey, by Deborah, daughter of Richard Stillwell, by Mercy, daughter of Samuel Sands, of Sands Point. She died 7th Dec., 1841, aged 89
[*m.* 1st January, 1779]
(*b.* 5th July, 1749; *d.* 2nd March, 1826)
He served in the Militia of New Jersey during the American Revolution, and was a member of the Legislature in 1804

BENJAMIN
(*b.* 6th July, 1751)
m., 17th June, 1773, Fanny KENNEDY

PLUNKETT
(*b.* 14th January, 1753; *d.* before 1761)

CORNELIA
(*b.* 10th January, 1757)
m. (1st) 16th June, 1780, Philip LINN; (2nd) Michael CONNOR; (3rd) Isaac WHITEMAN; and had issue

SARAH
(*b.* 1st October, 1758; *d.* 28th December, 1781, unmarried)

MARY
(*b.* 10th June, 1759; *d.* before 1761)

SAMUEL HAZARD
(*b.* 26th November, 1780; *d.* 10th June, 1783)

JOHN MAUNSELL, of Pinehurst = Elizabeth, daughter of Herr Christian Wilhelm WILMERDING (formerly of Brunswick, Germany), by Catherine Falkenhahn, his wife
[*m.* 26th April, 1806]
(*b.* 14th August, 1782; *d.* 28th September, 1855)
Captain of "Bradhurst's Regulars" during the war, 1812
She died 11th January, 1858, aged 71

ELIZABETH
(*b.* 25th April, 1784; *d.* 13th October, 1802, unmarried)

MARIA THERESA
(*b.* 24th January, 1786; *d.* 22nd March, 1872)
m., 19th April, 1806, Henry Hamilton SCHIEFFELIN (*d.* 14th October, 1865, aged 82)
Left issue

CATHERINE ANN
(*b.* 12th December, 1787; *d.* 17th March, 1868, at Nice)
m. (1st) John MCKESSON, Senior; (2nd) Hickson W. FIELD, Senior
She had no issue by either marriage

SAMUEL
(*b.* 16th April, 1807; *d.* 29th April, 1814)

SAMUEL STILLWELL
(*b.* 19th September, 1810; *d.* 22nd February, 1861)
Ensign in the 82nd Regiment of New York Infantry 1828, and an Alderman of the City

= Mary, daughter of Thomas Cornell PEARSALL, by Frances, daughter of Thomas Buchanan
She died 11th December, 1885, aged 70

WILLIAM WILMERDING
(*b.* 13th October, 1814; *d.* 23rd November, 1855, unmarried)

HENRY MAUNSELL, = Elizabeth, widow of Russell George NOYES, and daughter of Felix TRACY, of Oramel, by Henrietta, daughter of Christian Wilhelm Wilmerding
[*m.* 30th Sept., 1857]
of Pinehurst
(*b.* 13th May, 1822; *d.* 26th October, 1894)
She died 18th August, 1879, aged 56

MARY ELIZABETH
(*b.* 19th July, 1824; *d.* 18th February, 1897)
m., 17th July, 1845, Hickson W. FIELD, Junior, of Palazzo delle Sette Salle, Rome (*d.* 17th April, 1888), and had issue

[illegible] CORNELL = Catherine Amelia Ten Broeck, daughter of A. M. RODWELL, by Elizabeth Garthwaite
[*m.* 10th June, 1863]
(*b.* 14th April, 1840; *d.* 24th March, 1905)
She died 16th January, 1898, aged 55

THOMAS CORNELL PEARSALL
(*b.* May, 1847; *d.* 27th March, 1889)

FRANCES PEARSALL
(*d.* 22nd July, 1907)
m., 16th March, 1854, M. A. FIELD
Left issue

PHOEBE PEARSALL
m., 19th May, 1864, Alfred LAMENS, and has issue

MARY ELIZABETH
m., 20th April, 1865, Charles A. JACKSON, and has issue

AUGUSTA CURRIE
m., 15th October, 1863, William Hazard FIELD, and has issue

THEODORE FALKENHAHN
(*b.* 20th February, 1860; *d.* 23rd November, 1863)

AUGUSTUS MAUNSELL = Minna Evangeline, dau. of Charles Page WOOD, of Wakes Colne Hall, Essex, by Minna, dau. of T. G. White, of Wethersfield Manor, by Charlotte Sophia, dau. and heiress of Sir G. H. Smyth, Bart., of Berechurch Hall, Essex
[*m.* 24th June, 1863]
(*b.* 17th September, 1865)

ELIZABETH WILMERDING ("Lillie")
(*b.* 28th July, 1858; *d.* 17th December, 1863)

HENRY MAUNSELL = Jean Ellett, daughter of Benjamin Franklin BONSHAM, of Philadelphia, and granddaughter of Constantine SOMERS
[*m.* 17th Dec., 1889]
(*b.* 26th June, 1864)
Present representative of the family

ELIZABETH RODWELL = THOMAS HENRY RANDALL
[*m.* 5th May, 1900]
(*d.* 22nd March, 1908) (*d.* 2nd July, 1905)

CHRISTINE EVANGELINE MINNA ELIZABETH

(*b.* 16th April, 1807;
(*d.* 29th April, 1814)

(*b.* 19th Se
d. 22nd F
Ensign in
ment of Ne
1828, and
t

JOHN MAUNSELL
(*b.* 28th April, 1837;
d. 6th June, 1867,
unmarried)

CHARLES CORNELL = Catherine Amelia Ten
[*m.* 10th June, 1863] Broeck,
(*b.* 14th April, 1840; daughter of
d. 24th March, 1905) A. M. RODWELL, by
Elizabeth Garthwaite
She died 16th January,
1898, aged 55

THOMAS LL
PE
(*b.* M
d. 27th 1889)

HENRY MAUNSELL = Jean Ellett, dau
[*m.* 17th Dec., 1889] of
(*b.* 26th June, 1864) Benjamin Fra
Present representative BONHAM,
of the family Philadelphi
granddaug
Constantin

BRADHURST, BROADHURST, DE BRADEHURST

CHAPTER I

THE CHAPEL, THE MANOR, AND THE LAKE

BRADHURST, Broadhurst, de Bradehurst, is a plain English name, of Anglo-Saxon origin, being synonymous with *Broadwood*. *Hurst*, or "hyrst," signifies a wood, or grove of trees. "Hence such places as have this word for part of their names, have been situated near a wood. In Kent, Sussex and Hampshire there are many such names, because formerly the great wood called Auderswald extended itself through these counties."[1] In those parts of England this Saxon word is frequently to be found lingering in the termination of local names; and surnames which have it denote, therefore, a local derivation. "Ashurst, Bradhurst, Buckhurst, Parkhurst, were," we are told, "Kentish local family names";[2] but *Bradhurst* belongs primarily to the neighbouring County of Sussex, where its first appearance, in that spelling, dates from 1313, whilst as "Broadhurst" it can be traced still further. The woodland meaning of its ending is borne out by the aspect of the country surrounding the sites of the Chapel de Bradehurst and of Broadhurst Manor, as well as by the woods and groves sloping down to the banks of Broadhurst Lake. This name indeed appears to have been thus differently written at various periods:—

In the 13th century it was "*Broad*hurst."
In the year 1313-14, "*Brad*hurst."
In 1478, "*de Brade*hurst."
In the same century, a little later, "*Broad*hurst."

---

[1] Abraham Rees.
[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register.*

In 1532, again "*Broad*hurst."

In 1574, "*Brode*hurst."

In 1581, "*Brode*hurst" or "*Broad*hurst."

In 1583, simply "*Broad*hurst."

In 1620, "*Brad*hurst," except in references to the Chapel, which which was usually spelt "*de Brade*hurst."

In 1649 we find it once more "*Broad*hurst," and that spelling seems to have been henceforward continued in England, except as regards the "Chapel of Marie de Bradehurst," and in a few instances where the name is to be recognized under the guise of "*Brod*hurst."

In America the spelling "*Brad*hurst" dated from 1677:—

In 1696 it reverted to "*Broad*hurst."

In 1706 it was "*Brad*hurst."

In 1739, "*Broad*hurst."

And finally, in 1755, "*Brad*hurst," since which time the family to which we here particularly refer have generally adhered to that spelling.

Although the *o* was omitted as far back at least as the fourteenth century, this appears only to have been done in England in making mention of the Manor or of the Chapel, not in writing the family name; whereas in America this omission from the surname dates from the earliest days of colonization. It is curious how the Chapel, the Lake, and the Manor, all being situated within a couple of miles of each other, have at various periods retained, at the same date, their distinctive orthographies. Thus the Chapel was rarely called otherwise than "de Bradehurst," while Broadhurst Manor and Lake appear nowhere to have had the prefix "*de*" to their name, and in only one document to have been spelt with an "*e*."

The site of the ancient *Chapel of Marie de Bradehurst* adjoins the present chancel of the parish church of Horsted Keynes, in Sussex, which is dedicated to St. Giles. If we follow the country lane downward from this old churchyard we pass the picturesque Lake of Broadhurst, and as thence it winds upward again we come to the entrance gate of the Manor of Bradhurst or Broadhurst. The date, 1197, over the porch of Horsted Keynes Church testifies to its antiquity. The Chapel of "Marie de Bradehurst" was probably a side chapel to the chancel; it was bricked up and removed in

HORSTED KEYNES CHURCH, SUSSEX

Showing the bricked-up entrance to the Chapel of Marie de Bradehurst

1850, as may still be seen near the spot where is the tomb of Archbishop Leighton. In 1478 one Richard Yngram officiated as chaplain of the "Chapel or Chantry of the Manor of Bradehurst, in Horsted Keynes."[1] (Thus in alluding to the Chapel, the name of the Manor is spelt with an "*e*.") The illustration shows plainly where the brickwork closes the old arch which divided the chapel of the lords of the Manor of Broadhurst from the chancel of Horsted Keynes Church.[2] It may, by the way, be interesting to note that the latter quaint name is derived from the baronial family of Keynes, Kaynes, Caignes, Keignes, or Cahanges (lords of Middleton, in Nottingham[3]), who in olden times possessed these lands, and held a lordship here, the manorial rights of which became united to those of Broadhurst. In the church there are several mural monuments and tablets to the memory of those who from time to time have held the manor, and to families connected with the neighbourhood. Among them we find the names of Dalmahoy[4]; of Edward Lightmaker, of Broadhurst; of Saphira, his widow, sister of Archbishop Leighton; of William Pigot,[5] of Broadhurst, and of Osbornes and Pigotts, descendants of the said Saphira.

Outside the church, on the site of the Chapel de Bradehurst, is the tomb to Archbishop Leighton and his brother, Sir Ellis Leighton, Knight; and a further inscription to the memory of Harry Morley, of Great Walstead, Lindfield, "lineally decsended from the ancient family of Michelborne, of Broadhurst," recalls the earlier owners of the manor.

---

[1] Bishop's *Register*, in the Sussex Archæological Collection (Vol. XI., page 106): "*Richard Yngram was in* 1478 *officiating as Chaplain of the Chapel of the Marie of Bradehurst, in Horsted Keynes.*"

[2] For this photograph, as for those of Broadhurst Manor and Lake, we are indebted to William Bradhurst Osgood-Field.

[3] *Milton Keynes*, co. Bucks., and *Winckley Keynes*, co. Devon., owe their compound names to the same family.

[4] Dalmahoy, of Dalmahoy, was a family of distinction in Midlothian, *temp.* Alexander III.

[5] On the other tablets to members of his family the name is spelt *Piggot* and *Pigott*.

"Broadhurst Lake," which borders the road where it dips between the inclines leading on the one hand to the church, and on the other to the manor, is noted for its trout; and the stew ponds, to the left of the manor drive, one above the other, divided by dams, bear witness to the interest which former owners have taken in the "gentle art."

Beyond these the old Manor House, amid its remaining park lands, although long since reduced to a mere farmhouse, still bears the stamp of its departed status. The date of the present building is uncertain, but it is supposed to be of about the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Its chief interest to tourists lies in its association with Archbishop Leighton. It stands about a mile and a half to the north of Horsted Keynes. About the middle of the thirteenth century the heiress of the Cahanges (or Keynes), is said to have brought it into the family of Lewknor, whose descendants held it for several generations.[1] In the sixth year of the reign of Edward II., Thomas Lewknor had "free warren in Horsted Keynes, *Bradhurst*," and other manors in the Counties of Sussex and Northampton.[2] From him we pass to Sir Roger Lewknor, of Dedisham Park and Horsted Keynes, who died in 1479, having married Elinor, or Alianora, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Richard Camoys, son and heir of Lord Camoys. The next noteworthy owner of Broadhurst was another Sir Roger Lewknor (or Lewkenor), who was sheriff in 1532. The manor was settled in marriage, 1st August, 1533, on his daughter Jane Lewknor, and thus it became on Sir Roger's death the property of her third husband, Sir William Barentyne. Their son was Drewe (Drury) Barentyne, of Broadhurst, who married Anne Grey. In this way the manor passed from the direct line of the Lewknors, who had been seated there some two hundred and fifty years. About this period "the Mansion of Broadhurst, in Horsted Keynes," was acquired by the Chaloners, but their ownership does not appear to have been of long duration. In 1567 Drewe Barentyne and Anne, his wife, sold some of their lands to his relative Thomas Lewknor, of Worcestershire, who was related by marriage both to the Chaloners of Lindfield and to the Michelbornes of Ditchling, all in the County

[1] Lower. [2] Sussex Archæological Collection, Vol. III.

Broadhurst Manor

Broadhurst Lake

of Sussex. In 1574 Drewe Barentyne disposed of a further "moiety and half part of the Manors of Brodehurst and Horsted Keynes" to the said Thomas Lewknor's son, Nicholas Lewknor, of Horsted Keynes, and to Richard Michelborne, of Ditchling. In 1581 the lands appear to have been subdivided, some being held by Margaret, widow of Nicholas Lewknor, and some by his sister Jane, wife of Anthony Sheldon, of Worcester. Other owners about this date were Edward Nevill, of Knowle in Kent; Robert Middlemore, and Thomas Coppley, of Breedon, in the County of Worcester.

The Manor House itself, however, was now the abode of Richard Michelborne, of Ditchling and Broadhurst, who died in 1583.[1] His son Richard Michelborne, of Broadhurst, contributed £100 to the defence of the country against the Spanish invasion in 1588. He was buried at Ditchling in 1607, and was the father of Sir Richard Michelborne, Knight, of Bradhurst and Stanmer, Sheriff for the Counties of Surrey and Sussex in 1620, who died in 1638, leaving a son William, who, dying in 1656, was succeeded by his son, Edward Michelborne, of Stanmer and Broadhurst, the last of his family.[2] He died in 1700, and in the following year Sibilla and Bridget Michelborne sold Stanmer to Peter Gott, who resold it, in 1713, to Henry Pelham, Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer, grandfather of Thomas, 2nd Lord Pelham of Stanmer, who was created Earl of Chichester. The Pelhams had intermarried, some generations earlier, with the Lewknors of Broadhurst.

The Michelborne heiresses disposing of their family estates, Broadhurst Manor again changed hands, and became the property of Edward Lightmaker, of whose wife a tablet on the south side of the chancel of Horsted Keynes Church speaks in the following quaint terms:

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[1] He was the son of John Michelborne, of Westminster, who died in 1575, by Joane, daughter of Richard Hether, of Ditchling, and uncle of Sir Edward Michelborne, who died in 1610, having been knighted in Dublin, in 1599, by Robert, Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant.

[2] A branch of the Michelbornes of Bradhurst settled in Ireland at Ballyarthur, co. Wicklow; but they also became extinct in the male line a few years later. To them belonged Colonel John Michelborne, Governor of Londonderry, who died 1721.

"Here lyeth the body of M^rs Saphira Lightmaker,
wife of M^r Ed: Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, in Sussex, Gent:
Daughter of D^r Alexander Leighton, D.D., sister to D^r Rob^t
Leighton, late Archbishop of Glasgow and S^r Ellis Leighton, K^t,
who both ly here interred. She was a devout woman
and a mother in Israel: a widow indeed and
(notwithstanding solicitations to a 2^nd marriage)
lived to 44 years. She died in the Lord Dec^r 20^th
1704, aged 81."

This devout lady of the manor nevertheless neglected her responsibilities in the matter of church reparation, as appears from an entry in the diary of the Rev. Giles Moore, Rector of Horsted Keynes in the middle of the seventeenth century. He says: "All my charges in and about repayring my chancel in June 1664 came to 1 : 16 : 1, which I payed out of my owne purse. All of which was occasioned by and through the defaulte and neglect of Mistresse Sapphira Lightmaker in not keeping up her chancel." The sum does not appear a large one, even though more at that date than it is now, but Mrs. Lightmaker may have regarded its payment as an admission of liability which would, perhaps, have entailed her restoration of the Chapel of Marie de Bradehurst, which seems soon afterwards to have fallen into decay. But whatever her omissions in this, she certainly appears to have been a most devoted sister to the ex-Archbishop of Glasgow, whose views had compelled him to take refuge in the retirement of her home at Broadhurst. Although it may be somewhat irrelevant and outside our purpose, it may not be uninteresting to recall something of his career, and of the sufferings of his no less famous father, since their names have contributed largely to the general interest in Broadhurst Manor. Alexander Leighton, the father of "Mistresse Sapphira," was a Scotch Presbyterian, born at Edinburgh in 1587. In the reign of Charles I. he published a work entitled *An Appeal to the Parliament; or Zion's Plea against Prelacy.* For this he was tried in the High-Commission Court, and being accused, which in those days, and in that court, was but another term for being convicted, "he was condemned to be imprisoned for life, and pay a fine of £10,000: he was to be set in the pillory twice, and to be whipt, have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S.

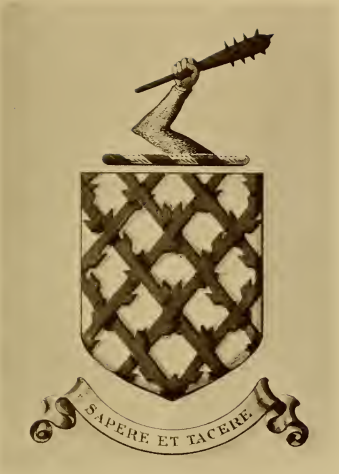
as a *Sower of Sedition*. When this savage sentence was passed on him, the cruel Laud exhibited signs of the most indecent joy, and publicly gave God thanks for it. Excepting the imprisonment for life and the fine, the sentence was put into execution to the full extent. He was released by the Long Parliament after an imprisonment of ten years. His confinement and cruel usage had so impaired his health, that when he was released he had scarcely the power of walking or seeing or hearing. As a sort of remuneration for his troubles the parliament appointed him keeper of Lambeth Palace, at that time converted into a prison. He died in 1644, insane."[1] His son Robert Leighton (brother of Mrs. Lightmaker, of Broadhurst), was educated in Scotland, and distinguished himself above his contemporaries. After his academical studies he went abroad for improvement, and spent some years in France. On his return he obtained Presbyterian ordination, and was chosen to a congregation at Newbottle, near Edinburgh. Soon after this he conceived a dislike to the Presbyterian form and manner of church discipline, and retired. His main object was to teach the principles and duties of religion and morality, urging his flock not to trouble themselves with religious and political disputes. In the year 1648 he declared himself for the king, for whom he would have exposed himself to much trouble, had not the Earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, proved his friend, and prevailed with those in power not to molest him. Again he withdrew into retirement, but shortly after was chosen Principal of the College of Edinburgh, the duties of which office he performed with great reputation during ten years. Upon the Restoration, when it was determined to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, Leighton was fixed on as a proper person for the mitre, and was consecrated, with other bishops, at Westminster. He now vainly endeavoured to promote a plan for uniting the Presbyterians and Episcopalians. When he found that the government was determined to enforce conformity on the Presbyterians by the most rigorous measures, he laboured with all zeal to show the impolicy of such proceedings. He remonstrated with the king respecting the arbitrary proceedings of the Ecclesiastical High Commission Court, of which his father had been so signal a

[1] Toulmin's *Neale's History*, Vol. II.

victim, and he obtained a promise that more lenient measures should be adopted in respect to Scotland. He begged permission to resign his See; but the king, so far from listening to the prayer of his petition, urged him to accept the diocese of Glasgow, which was a more important bishopric, and one in which he might be more useful. As an inducement to accept this preferment, Leighton was promised the assistance of the court in bringing about his favourite scheme of a comprehension of the Presbyterians. He, therefore, accepted the See; but soon finding himself unable to carry out the great design so dear to him, begged permission to retire into private life, which was at length granted him. Then it was that he went to live with his sister, Mrs. Lightmaker, at Broadhurst, where he died, in 1684, some ten years later, at about the age of eighty. In Sussex he occupied his latter days in doing all the good in his power, and his name is conspicuous in the annals of the manor. He was the author of *Praelectiones Theologicae*, *A Commentary on the First and Second Chapters of the First Epistle of St. Peter*, and other works, including *Sermons*.[1] To him have been attributed the inauguration of the two massive oaken doors at Broadhurst Manor, which are so arranged, on the first and second floors, that when they are let down from the side of the wall they completely close over the head of the stairs (with iron fastenings to the floor above), thus entirely cutting off access to the sleeping apartments from the floor below. As a means of defence these were doubtless of consequence in early times, provided the pursuers were not given time to starve or burn those above into surrender. But to assign them to the Archbishop of Glasgow seems erroneous. His tortured father had more need of such a hiding-place; but, as a matter of fact, it is most probable that they are of a yet earlier date. In any case they form one of the most interesting features of Broadhurst at the present day.

From Mrs. Lightmaker the manor passed to her descendants the Pigots, who did not long retain it. In later times, as a farm-house, it was possessed by General the Honourable Henry Brand, who succeeded his brother as 21st Baron Dacre. The next owner was his younger son, the late Viscount Hampden (who succeeded his elder

[1] Rees.



"Bradhurst"

brother as 23rd Baron Dacre); and the present Lord of the Manor is that Lord Hampden's younger son, Captain the Honourable Thomas Brand. From this it will be seen that Broadhurst Manor has changed hands and undergone vicissitudes; while the chapel has practically disappeared; and the lake alone, perhaps, would be recognisable could these scenes be revisited by those who dwelt here in ancient times and took their surname therefrom.

The family of Broadhurst dispersed into several counties; but it is with those who settled in Staffordshire that we are chiefly concerned. For Arms some of the name bore "*Gules, a fesse argent, surmounted by a chevron azure*"; and these had for their Crest, "*A mermaid, holding in the dexter hand a dagger, proper.*" But the Arms of the *Broad*hursts and *Brod*hursts, of Staffordshire, were, "*Azure, fretty of eight pieces, raguly, or*"; and the *Broad*hursts in that county had for their Crest, "*A lion's head, couped, proper, collared vairé, argent or.*" In later times, the Broadhursts of Foston Hall, Derbyshire, bore, "*Quarterly, azure and or, fretty, raguly, counterchanged,*" and the Crest, in this branch, was, "*a swan erm: swimming in water ppr: charged on the breast with an estoile sa: wings expanded or, fretty, raguly az:*" and their Motto was, "*Sapere et Tacere.*" Of this latter family, John Broadhurst, Lord of the Manors of Foston, Scropton and Boylestone, in Derbyshire, married the Hon. Henrietta Mabel, daughter of Lord Henry Fitzgerald and of Charlotte, Baroness de Ros. Mr. Broadhurst died in 1861, and the Hon. Mrs. Broadhurst died 20th December, 1879. Their heir, John Broadhurst, of Foston Hall, was High Sheriff in 1865, J.P. and D.L. for the County of Derby, and married, in 1857, Florence Georgiana Toscana, daughter of General Sir Henry Cumming. This Mr. Broadhurst died in 1874, and Foston Hall passed to his wife's family, by whom it has recently been sold.

The earliest mention of the family in America is that of Ralph Bradhurst, of Roxbury,[1] who married, 13th June, 1677, Hannah, daughter of John Gore, and had issue, Rhoda, born 17th May, 1678; Dorothy, born 1st March, 1680; Hannah, born 14th December, 1682; and Abigail, born 4th July, 1685. His wife died 10th July, 1686;

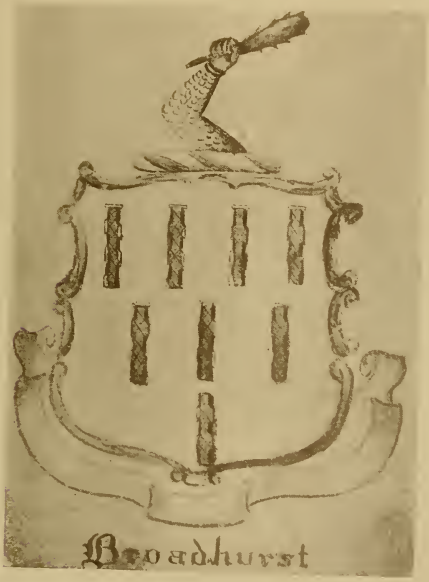
[1] Whose name also is found spelt with an *o* (Br*o*dhurst) instead of an *a*.

and he had a second wife, Martha, who died 6th August, 1693. His third wife, Hannah, died 16th April, 1710.[1] From this date there is no further trace of him, and Ralph Bradhurst, of Roxbury, seems to have entirely disappeared, perhaps (as someone has suggested) in quest of another wife. Of his daughters, Rhoda married, 13th March, 1704, John Colburn.

Others of the name—usually spelt "Broadhurst"—have appeared in the Colonial records and archives from time to time; but as their kinship is doubtful and, in any case, remote, it would be beside the mark to enumerate them.

The Bradhursts of Pinehurst, in New York, are derived from the Staffordshire branch of the family. The similarity of Arms borne by the Broadhursts of Staffordshire in the seventeenth century, and (much later) by the Broadhursts of Foston Hall, and by the American Bradhursts in the eighteenth century, is worthy of note, for, apart from the proof afforded by records, it forms a link between the latter family and their progenitors in the County of Stafford. There is in the Author's possession an old coloured illustration of the Arms and Crest of Samuel Bradhurst (*third*), beneath which the name is spelt "*Broadhurst*," and on the back of which is written, "Samuel Bradhurst, New York." The Arms are not depicted in accordance with the strict rules of heraldry,—no uncommon occurrence in America, especially at that period,—but it is obvious that they are intended for the "Azure, fretty of eight pieces, raguly, or," displayed by the Broadhursts of Staffordshire, Samuel Bradhurst's immediate forefather having hailed from Derington, in that county. The Crest, however, is different; a difference for which there is no particular explanation; but, to those versed in such matters, Arms are of far more importance than a Crest. Thus in lieu of the lion's head borne by the Staffordshire Broadhursts, Samuel Bradhurst bore, "*A dexter arm in mail, embowed, the hand proper, grasping a club with spikes, or*," which, as a matter of fact, is the Crest of the English family of Bathurst. Thus it is that the American Bradhursts combine this Crest with the Arms of their Staffordshire ancestors, and have for their

[1] *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, showing three Generations of those who came before May*, 1692, by James Savage. Vol. I.



"BROADHURST"

The Arms of "Samuel Bradhurst, of New York," were thus incorrectly represented in the eighteenth century. A comparison of them with a correct presentation of the Arms of Broadhurst, or Brodhurst, in Staffordshire, shows that they are intended for the same.

Motto, "*Sapere et tacere*"—a Motto which was adopted by their kinsmen seated at Foston Hall, in Derbyshire.

Referring to the Staffordshire branch of the family, we find the death of Mrs. Mary Broadhurst, of Derrington, in that county, thus recorded, under the heading of "Burials begin here for which four shillings was paid to the Kinge. Anno Domini 1695."

"*ffebruary 23. M^rs Mary Broadhurst dyed in this parish, but was buried in y^e parish of Lyneall in Salop.* { *ten shillings p^d for a mort--ury from Clanford Grange.*"

Derrington, or Derington, it must be explained, now belongs to the Parish of Seighford, where the old Register is to be found. The name of the burial place, "Lyneall," is not very legible; but the name most approaching to it in that county is Lyneal, near Ellesmere. But there is no record of any place of burial at Lyneal at so early a date. The Register of this new Parish only goes back to 1870; all burials, prior to July in that year, having taken place at Ellesmere; and at the latter the old Register no longer exists!

As to "Clanford Grange,"—the place from which Mrs. Broadhurst's "mortury" was paid for,—it was probably at Caton Clanford (which, like Derington, is a hamlet belonging to Seighford), where there is a very picturesque old Hall, black and white, used as a Farm House. It is said that the last remaining traces of an old "Clanford Hall" were removed some years ago. And so it seems that the reason for this lady's burial in the neighbouring County of Salop, the place itself, and her connection with the long-since vanished Clanford Grange, are all lost in the mists of the past.

But the mention of Derington, her last abode, leads us to Jonathan Broadhurst, of that place, who went to America, and whose descendants continue to bear the Arms of their Staffordshire forefathers, although they have omitted the o from their name, and reverted to the spelling, *Bradhurst*, which dates from the year 1313.

CHAPTER II

JONATHAN BRADHURST AND CATHERINE, HIS WIFE

THE year following the death of Mrs. Broadhurst at Derington, in Staffordshire, Jonathan Broadhurst was married at Albany, in New York. He was among those who subscribed to the Oath of Allegiance to King William III., 4th January, 1699, his name being recorded as "Jonathan Breadhurst." During the praiseworthy governorship of the Province by Richard Coote, Earl of Bellamont, Jonathan Broadhurst was appointed High Sheriff of Albany County, October, 1700.[1] But the Earl, who was not only one of the most loyal supporters of William of Orange, but also one of the ablest and most disinterested of the English Governors of New York, died on the 5th March following; whereupon he was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, under whose hateful administration Jonathan Broadhurst remained in office until after the accession of Queen Anne, when he resigned (October, 1702), having served as Sheriff of his County for the exact term of two years.

In 1706 he received the Freedom of the City of New York, and in the Roll of Freemen his name is spelt *Bradhurst*.[2]

The date of his marriage was 23rd April, 1696; his wife was of Dutch descent, and her Christian name, Catherine, was sometimes written "Catarina" and sometimes "Catalyntie." She was born in 1657, and was the elder daughter of Dirk Bensen, of Beverwyck, and widow of Reynier Schaets, whose name, pronounced *skates*, is also spelt Skaats and Schaats.[3] He was the eldest son of the Rev. Gideon Schaets, who, having been a native of Holland, born at Beest in 1611,

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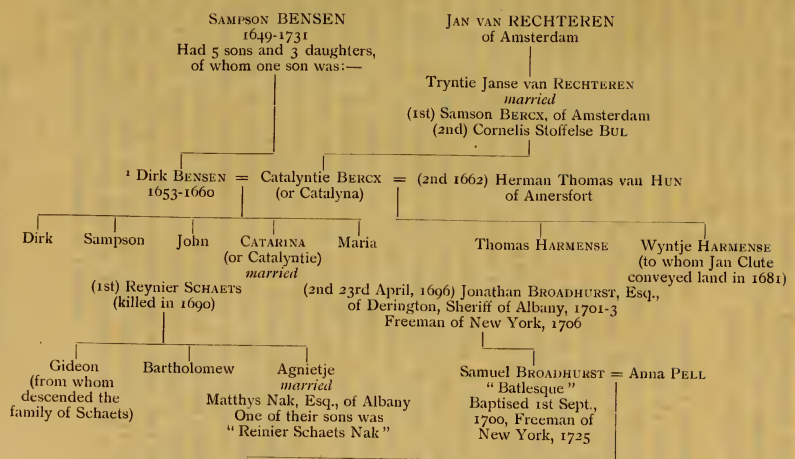
[1] New York Civil List. Pearson's *First Settlers in Albany*.

[2] *Memorial History of the City of New York*, by James Grant Wilson.

[3] The Arms of this family are: Gules, two "schaats" (Dutch for *skates*), sable, quartered azure, a crescent or. *America Heraldica*.

THE DUTCH DESCENT OF CATARINA, WIFE OF JONATHAN BROADHURST



[1] The four brothers of Dirk Bensen, son of Sampson Bensen, were:—1, Herman; 2, Sampson; 3, Robert; 4, Henry. And the sisters were named:—1, Palo; 2, Elizabeth (wife of Egbert van Borsum); and 3, Catalina.

had been sent to America in 1650 by the Dutch East India Company, and became Minister of the Dutch Church at Beverwyck (Albany) in 1652.[1] Reynier Schaets was the brother of Bartholomeus Schaets, Chamberlain of the Government (or Stadt) House at New Amsterdam, who was one of those "Knickerbockers" so quaintly caricatured in Washington Irving's *History of New York.*[2]

It may be here as well to recall the fact,—especially for English readers,—that New York was formerly a Dutch Settlement; and that, after its acquisition by the Crown of England, Charles II. granted these possessions in America to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany (who later became King James II.), in whose honour the Dutch names in these Colonies were replaced by those of his titles. Thus the Province of New Netherlands became the Province of New York, and Beverwyck was named Albany, and the city of New Amsterdam was henceforward called the City of New York.

Reynier Schaets was one of the early settlers at Schenectady, where, in 1689, he was appointed Justice of the Peace. On 9th February, 1690, at the massacre and burning of that place by the Indians and French, he and a son of his were among the sixty who lost their lives. His children by Catrina Bensen were two sons named Gideon and Bartholomew, and a daughter, Agnietie, wife of Matthys Nak, of Albany, who have left descendants.

His widow, at the time of her second marriage, was thirty-nine years of age; and the old Dutch records of Albany call her Catalyntie Bensing, "*weduwe van Reinier Schaets,*" and describe her husband as Jonathan Broadhurst, "*jong man van Derington in Engelandt.*"[3]

She was descended from Jan van Rechteren; and was related to a number of Dutch families. Her grandfather was Sampson Bensing, or Bensen, who was living in New Amsterdam in 1649, and whose will, dated 20th July, 1726, was proved 23rd February, 1731. Her step-father, Herman Thomas van Hun,[4] of Amersfort, was the nephew of Wendeltie Harmense, of Alckmar, in Holland.

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[1] Brodhead's *History of the State of New York.*
[2] E. de V. Vermont. [3] Pearson.
[4] Preface to *First Settlers in Albany.*

That Jonathan Broadhurst's wife was still living in the year 1720 is proved by the following receipt:[1]

"New York, June y^e 25, 1720.

"Received of M^r. Pieter Winne the Som of saven poundes two shillings and 6d. It being for thrie Quarters hous rent on the Ackount of M^r. Philip Verplank.

"I say received by me
in the behalf of mey
Motheder Catrin Brodhurst. *Bartholom Skaats."*

This receipt is interesting, for it shows that her tenant was Mr. Philip Verplanck, whose descendant has married a descendant of hers: it is signed by one of the sons of her first marriage, who spelt his name more in accordance with its pronunciation: and, finally, the spelling of her own surname points to the connection of her husband, Jonathan Broadhurst, with that branch of his family in Staffordshire who bore the same Arms and spelt their name "Brodhurst."

By her Jonathan Broadhurst had an only son, Samuel, called "Batlesque" Broadhurst (or *Brad*hurst), who was baptised at Albany, 1st September, 1700; and whom to distinguish from his several descendants of the same name we will call "Samuel Bradhurst, *first*."

[1] In the possession of William Gordon Ver Planck, whose wife is descended from the said "Catrin Brodhurst," wife of Jonathan Broadhurst, of Derington, Staffordshire, and of Albany, New York. We are indebted to Mr. Ver Planck for an exact copy of the original.

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PELL OF PELHAM

ARMS [illegible] wered or, a pelican of the last [illegible] herself gules

WALTER DE PELHAM, LORD OF PELHAM IN HERTFORDSHIRE, 1294
His eldest son was the ancestor of the Earls of Chichester; the Dukes of Newcastle, and the Earls of Yarborough, etc.
His younger son was

William PELL, of Water Willoughby, [illegible]

Thomas PELL, of Water Willoughby, Lincolnshire

Richard PELL, of Water Willoughby

John PELL, of Water Willoughby

Thomas PELL, of Dersingham, Norfolk

John PELL, of Shouldham Manor and Brookhall (*d.* 1556) = Margaret CLETHERON

John PELL, of Shouldham, Mayor of Lynn Regis (*b.* 1526; *d.* 1607) = Margaret, only dau. of William OVEREND, Mayor of Lynn Regis, Norfolk

Their *fifth* son was

John PELL †

William PELL, of Water Willoughby = Alice, dau. of Robert BULLER, of Packston

Thomas PELL = (1st) Alice, dau. of Henry FLOWER, of Langernotts
(2nd) Alice, dau. of Sir William THOROLD, of Marston

Edward PELL, of Water Willoughby

Sir Richard PELL, Knt., of Dimblesby, Lincolnshire = (2nd) Catherine, dau. of Anthony MEERES, of Kirton, Holland

Sir Anthony PELL, † of Dymblesby = (1st) Elizabeth (*b.* 1529), dau. of Sir William WILLOUGHBY, of Carlton, Notts.

Thomas PELL

Sir Bartholomew PELL, Knt.

† The Rev. John Pell, of Southwick, is by some said to have been the son of John Pell, fifth son of John Pell, of Shouldham, Mayor of Lynn—as above.

† The Rev. John Pell, of Southwick, is by some said to have been the son of Sir Anthony Pell, of Dymblesby, Lincolnshire—as above.

† The Rev. John PELL, of Southwick, Sussex (*d.* 1616) = Mary, daughter of George HOLLAND, of Halden, Kent [1]

Thomas PELL, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I.; 1st Lord of Pelham Manor, N.Y. (*b.* at Southwick, 1613; *d.* Sept. 1669). Buried at Fairfield, Connecticut = Lucy, dau. of Francis BREWSTER, of New Haven

Rev. and Rt. Hon. John PELL, D.D. Sometime Incumbent of Fobbing, Essex; Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and Cromwell's Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons (*b.* at Southwick, 1st May, 1611; *d.* 12th Dec., 1685). Buried in Rector's Vault, St. Giles's Church, London = Tamar, or Ithamaroia, dau. of Henry REGINOLLES,[2] of London

Sir John PELL, 2nd Lord of Pelham and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas (*b.* 3rd Feb., 1643; *d.* 1702)

Sewer in Ordinary to Charles II. = Rachel, dau. of Philip PINKNEY, of Eastchester

Thomas PELL, 3rd Lord of Pelham (*b.* about 1680; *d.* 1739). Will dated 3rd Sep., 1739 = Anna, dau. of the reigning Indian Chief of Westchester

Joseph PELL, 4th Lord of Pelham

Six younger sons

ANNA = Samuel BROADHURST

Samuel BRADHURST = Anna HEATH

Mary *married* Samuel SANDS

Sarah *married* Benjamin PALMER

Bathsheba *married* Theophilus BARTOW

[1] *Claimed* descent from Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, &c., from Joan Plantagenet, "the Fair Maid of Kent," called also the "Lady of Wake," being heiress of Wake's Colne, Essex. She was a granddaughter of Edward I.

[2] Descended from the family of Reginales, of Belsted, Suffolk, 1584.

CHAPTER III

SAMUEL BRADHURST (*first*) AND ANNE PELL, OF PELHAM

Of Samuel Bradhurst (*first*) the most interesting thing known is that he was given up and despaired of by his family as having been drowned some sixteen years before he actually lost his life at sea. It must not be inferred from this that he did not rejoin them in the interval; but it can be easily understood that when indeed he had so perished, the hope that he might again have escaped was not easily allayed, since his relatives were buoyed up by the recollection of the previous occurrence.

He was born in the year 1700, and appears, sometimes, to have been called by the unusual name of "*Ballesque* Samuel Bradhurst," the origin of which is not known; however, it helps to distinguish him from his son, and grandson, both of whom were also named Samuel.[1]

In 1725 he was made a Freeman of the City of New York, and the 'o' was then omitted from his surname.[2] In his grandson's MS. ("The Events and Ages of my Family"), he is mentioned as an "Englishman, bred to the sea"; nevertheless, in 1724, he was described in New York as a silversmith, so that he perhaps did not adopt the sea as a profession until later. The difficulties of communication were so great in those days as compared with the present, that it is hardly surprising that he should, at one time, have been missing for so long that his relatives, abandoning hope, regarded his wife as a widow. Consequently her father, in his Will dated 3rd September, 1739, provides for "my daughter Ann Broadhurst . . . *during the time* she remains a single woman *without a husband.*" This provision, we may infer, was made not so much out of a prejudice

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[1] MS. notes and memoranda collected by Eugene Schieffelin.

[2] James Grant Wilson.

against second marriages, as because of some doubt in the mind of the testator as to the certainty of his son-in-law's supposed, or reported, death.

It was not, however, until 1755 that Samuel Bradhurst lost his life,[1] when, on 1st November in that year, he was drowned, at the age of fifty-five, in the Port of Lisbon in that Great Earthquake which, in about eight minutes, caused the swallowing up not only of the vessels in the port, but of most of the houses and upwards of fifty thousand of the inhabitants.

His wife was Anne, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Pell, 3rd Lord of Pelham, by Anna, daughter of Wampagè, the reigning Indian Chief of that district which forms the County of Westchester. The name of the chief rests solely upon family tradition; it should be pronounced in three syllables, as though the final *e* were a *y*. Thomas Pell, of Pelham, was descended from an old knightly house which had intermarried with the families of Pinkney of Eastchester, Reginales (or Reginolles) of Belsted, in Suffolk, and Holland of Halden, Kent. The Pedigree shows that Walter de Pelham, Lord of Pelham, Herefordshire, in 1294, had an elder son who was the ancestor of the Earls of Chichester, the Dukes of Newcastle, and the Earls of Yarborough, and a younger son from whom derived the Pells of Water Willoughby, Lincolnshire. The Arms of the senior line, bearing the surname of Pelham, are *three pelicans vulning themselves ppr.*, while the Arms of the Pells, which were granted 19th October, 1594,[2] are "Ermine, on a canton az: *a pelican or, vulning herself gu.*" From Water Willoughby the family divided into two branches, the one seated at Dersingham, in Norfolk, and the other at Dimblesby, Lincolnshire. Many interesting particulars of this notable family have already appeared in print,[3] including details as to the extent of the "lordship of Pelham," and the Royal Patent by which this "Manor" was granted (in the reign of Charles II.) by James, Duke of York, to Thomas Pell, formerly Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles I. The grantee's brother was the Reverend and Right Honourable John Pell, D.D., who was sent as Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons by Cromwell; and whose son, Sir John Pell, succeeded

[1] Valentine's *Manual*. [2] Burke. [3] Bolton's *History of Westchester*.

GILO DE PINCHENI,[1]
came to England *temp.* William the Conqueror; and *temp.* Henry I. gave lands at Wedon, Northamptonshire, to the Monks of St. Lucian, in France, who thereupon transplanted part of their convent to that place

Ralph de PINCHENI

Gilbert de PINCHENI,
Sheriff of Berkshire in 1157, 1159 and 1160

Henry de PINCHENI
(*d.* about 1209)

Robert de PINCHENI,
joined the Barons against King John, for which his lands were seized by the Crown; but they were restored in the first year of Henry III.

Henry de PINCHENI = Alice, sister and heiress of Gerard de LINDESEY
He held the Barony of Wedon, Northamptonshire, and other lands in Buckinghamshire and Essex
(*d.* 1254)

Henry de PINCHENY,
attended Henry III. in 1258 against the Welsh
(*d.* 1277)

Henry de PINKNEY, of Wedon,
was in the wars of Edward I. in Scotland, and was summoned to Parliament as a Baron in 1299, and again in 1301-2. He died without issue when the Barony of Pinkney became extinct[1]

Arms of Pinkeney, of Fairfield, and of de Pinkney, of Wedon, are the same:—or, four fusils in fesse, gu.[2]

Hamo de PINKENEY[2]
(descended from the above Gilo de Pincheni), held the Manor of Pinkeney, in Norfolk; and *d.* 1238-9, leaving by Alice, his wife:—

John de PINKENEY

James de PINKENEY,
Lord of Pinkeney in 1335-6, left by Joan, his wife:—

Hugh de PINKENEY = Isabel ———?
(Their heirs held the Lordship of Pinkeney, in Norfolk, in 1399 and 1400[2]

In St. Etheldred's Church, Norwich, Norfolk, England, there is a stone in the chancel, below the rails, to the memory of Henry Pinkeney and his wife, Elizabeth, who *d.* 27th September, 1700, aged 86[3]

PHILIP PINKENEY,[3] of Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1664, was the lineal descendant of the Pinkeneys of Pinkeney Manor, in Norfolk; he was one of the first patentees of Eastchester. He had two sons (who left descendants) and six daughters, of whom RACHEL PINKENEY[3] married Sir JOHN PELL,[4] 2nd Lord of Pelham Manor. Their eldest son:—

The Hon. THOMAS PELL, = Anna, dau. of the Indian Chief of Westchester
3rd Lord of Pelham

Seven sons | ANNA PELL wife of SAMUEL BRADHURST[4] (And it is thus that the Bradhursts are descended from the Pinkeneys) | *Three other daughters*

[1] *See* Burke's *Extinct Peerage*. [2] Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, Vol. V., pp. 5, 6. [3] Bolton's *History of Westchester*, Vol. I., p. 249. [4] Bolton's *History of Westchester*, Vol. II.

as 2nd Lord of Pelham, and was Sewer in Ordinary to Charles II. and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Sir John died in 1702, and his son, Thomas Pell, 3rd Lord of Pelham, was the father (by Anna, the Indian) of a large family, one of whom was Anne, wife of Samuel Bradhurst. Her Indian mother had been baptized by the name of Anna, and her autograph, as "Anna Pell," is still preserved. She, doubtless, belonged to the Siwanoys, a clan of the Mohegans, the "Enchanted Wolf Tribe." Wampagè, the Sachem, sold lands in 1654 to Thomas, the 1st Lord of Pelham. Within recent years the grave or mound of the chief, who was one of the principal owners of this territory, was still to be seen; and the rock which was said to have been his favourite fishing-place was still pointed out.

By Anna Pell Samuel Bradhurst, or Broadhurst, had one daughter, Catherine,[1] and an only son, named Samuel, whom we will call "Samuel Bradhurst, *second*."

[1] Bergen's *Early Settlers of King's County*. New York Dutch Records, 18th February, 1759.

CHAPTER IV

SAMUEL BRADHURST (*second*) AND ANNE HEATH

SAMUEL BRADHURST (*second*), the only son of "Batlesque" Samuel Broadhurst, by Anne Pell, was born in the year 1727, for his death is mentioned in the manuscript of his son (Samuel Bradhurst, of Pinehurst) as having taken place *in* 1762 *at the age of* 35; but, if further testimony is needed, it may be found in the Archives of the Dutch Church in New York, where his Baptism is thus recorded:

"OUDERS KINDER GETNIJEN

"*Aug: 30th 1727*
Samuel Brodhurst
Antje Pell
} SAMUEL { *Bartholomeus Schaets*
Marietje Williams."

From which it may be seen that he was baptized on the 30th August of that year, his parents being present, and that his Godparents were Marie Williams and Bartholomeus Schaets. It has been suggested that this was the Bartholomeus Schaets, a person of some consequence in New Amsterdam under the Dutch East India Company, who was the brother of Reynier Schaets, and therefore brother-in-law of Mrs. Jonathan Broadhurst; but, when we take the date and relationships into consideration, it appears more probable that the Godfather mentioned was the nephew and namesake of that Bartholomeus, and was the son of Mrs. Jonathan Broadhurst by her first husband, Reynier Schaets. The Godfather was, therefore, a half-uncle to his Godson, and was that "Bartholom Skaats" who signed the receipt to Mr. Philip Verplank on behalf of his "Motheder," Mrs. Jonathan Broadhurst, or "Brodhurst."

In the brief life of thirty-five years of Samuel Bradhurst (*second*) we find no incident so suggestive of adventure as in that of his seafaring father, nor so noteworthy as the stirring events with which his son was connected; nevertheless, in treating of him, we find ourselves face to face with a number of complicated family intermarriages,

which are not so difficult to unravel as to explain clearly for the benefit of those who may be interested in them. Such intermarriages, indeed, were as frequent in certain colonial families in America as they had formerly been among the exclusive Normans during the early period of their settlement in England. The lines cross and recross each other until they form a network of genealogy somewhat bewildering, but accountable for many otherwise inexplicable circumstances and seemingly contrary statements.

Samuel Bradhurst (*second*) appears to have passed his early years with his mother at Pelham Manor, in the house of his grandfather. When he was eight years old his uncle, David Pell, in a Will dated 1735, mentions him as a legatee. It was after this that his father was supposed to have perished at sea, and that (when he was twelve years old) he and his mother were accordingly provided for in the Will, dated 1739, of his grandfather, Thomas Pell. The latter stipulated that in case his son and heir, Joseph Pell, should object to the continued residence in his house of the testator's daughter, "Anna Broadhurst," and her child, "*during the time she remains a single woman without a husband*," then the said Joseph was to build her a small house, "*and allow her that and the use of six acres of land out of his land, during the time she remains a single woman and without a husband as aforesaid.*" There is no evidence as to which of these two alternatives Joseph, 4th Lord of Pelham, preferred in regard to his sister. The Will of Thomas Pell goes on: *and I also give unto my said daughter, Ann Broadhurst, the sum of sixty pounds, current money of New York, to be levied and paid her out of my movable estate, by my executors after my decease, and to be enjoyed by her, her heirs and assignees forever.*" After certain provisions and legacies for other members of his family, the Will of the Honourable Thomas Pell concludes by saying: "*I give and bequeath unto my grandson, Samuel Broadhurst, the sum of ten pounds current money of New York, to him, his heirs and assignees forever*"; and the remainder of his estate he left to be "*equally divided among my four daughters, Mary Sands, Ann Broadhurst, Sarah Palmer, and Bathsheba Pell, and be enjoyed by them, their heirs and assignees forever; and for executors of this my last Will and Testament, I do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my two sons, Philip and Joseph Pell.*" It is in

this mention of Anne Broadhurst and her sisters that we find ourselves confronted by some of those intermarriages to which we have alluded: for instance, Anne Broadhurst's sister, Mary, married a brother of Mercy Sands, who became Mrs. Richard Stillwell; and Anne Broadhurst's grandson, Samuel Bradhurst (*third*), married a granddaughter of Mercy Sands by Richard Stillwell. Again, Anne Broadhurst's sister, Bathsheba Pell, married Theophilus Bartow, and had a son, John Bartow, who married a daughter of Joseph Pell, 4th "Lord of Pelham." We will see in a later generation how through these marriages Samuel Bradhurst (*third*) and his wife, Mary Smith, although not actually of kin to each other, were connected by many mutual ties of relationship. We shall therefore have occasion to refer to this subject again, but it will here be well to note the network formed by the intermarriages between the families of—

Pell and Bartow
Pell and Sands
Sands and Bartow
Sands and Field
Pell and Field
Pell and Bradhurst
Bradhurst and Field
Bradhurst and Heath
Pell and Heath
Bradhurst and Smith
Stillwell and Smith
Stillwell and Bartow
Stillwell and Sands
Stillwell and Watkins
Livingston and Watkins
Livingston and Jay
Field and Jay
Schieffelin and Jay
Schieffelin and Bradhurst
Schieffelin and Clark
Clark and Smith

The list is by no means a complete one, but it suffices to indicate the "tangled skein" in which the genealogist may find himself involved. We will endeavour as we come across them, from time to time, to make them as clear as possible with the help of Genealogical Tables.

Samuel Bradhurst (*second*) was, we read in his son's MS., "bred

to the sea" like his father, and "commanded a vessel out of New York for many years." He was twenty-eight years of age at the time that his father was drowned during the Great Earthquake of 1755, having "married young,"—as the same MS. informs us,—when barely twenty-one, Anne Heath, on "Saturday, 9th July, 1748," at old Trinity Church. She was born in the same year as her husband. The record of their marriage was partly burnt during the great fire in New York in 1776, when that church was among the buildings destroyed. Moore, in his *Diary*, says that "long before the main fire reached Trinity Church, that large, ancient and venerable edifice was in flames, which baffled every effort to suppress them. The steeple, which was one hundred and forty feet high, the upper part wood, and placed on an elevated situation, resembled a vast pyramid of fire, exhibiting a most grand and awful spectacle." The Register, as stated, was found partly burnt, and the first syllable of Samuel Bradhurst's surname alone remained, with the result that it was mistaken for "Brad*street*," and was thus erroneously copied and entered in the revised registers on the rebuilding of the church. In these records the name of his wife is given as "Hannah Heath," but her son's MS. and other writings call her "Anne Heath." Her son (Samuel Bradhurst, of Pinehurst) also says that her father's name was Heath, and that he served under the British Government in New York in 1720; and that her brother was John Heath, who died 14th February, 1776. But the same authority also states that "*she was of a respectable family of the Seamines, now all extinct, though there were fourteen sons and one daughter.*" To reconcile this with the fact that her name was Heath, it has been suggested that her mother may have been named Seamine; a name so uncommon that it is supposed that Simon Semine, "silversmith of New York City, in 1721," was probably of the same family. Her brother, John Heath, of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and (in 1760) of Van Gelder Street, New York, was a goldsmith, whose first wife, Anne Lewis, was born in 1727, the same year as Anne Heath. He married Anne Lewis in 1746, two years before the marriage of Anne Heath to Samuel Bradhurst. On 20th October, 1760, John Heath married secondly Eletha Pell, a cousin of Samuel Bradhurst. In 1762 John Heath is named as executor in the Will of Samuel Bradhurst as "my friend and brother Goldsmith." The word *brother* may

here mean *brother-in-law*,—for in those days they were none too precise, and their expressions of relationship greatly depended upon their feelings of affection ;—or it may merely mean that they were both goldsmiths. For there is no reason why Samuel Bradhurst (*second*) may not have sometimes been thus described in spite of his "commanding a vessel out of New York," just as his father, who likewise was "bred to the sea," was occasionally spoken of as a "silversmith."

The marriage of Samuel Bradhurst's brother-in-law, John Heath, with Anne Lewis, daughter of Anthony Lewis by Meliora Norwood, is worthy of note, because Anne Lewis's mother, "Mrs. Meliora Lewis," appears (after her daughter's death) to have adopted not her son-in-law, John Heath (who married secondly Eletha Pell), but that son-in-law's brother-in-law, Samuel Bradhurst! We do not know at what date this lady adopted Samuel Bradhurst and his children by Anne Heath; nor on what grounds, failing her own issue, she passed over her own son-in-law, John Heath, in favour of his sister's husband and children. This, however, seems to have been the case; for Mrs. Meliora Lewis is mentioned in the MS. of Samuel Bradhurst, of Pinehurst, as the "mother of Samuel Bradhurst," meaning the writer's father, Samuel Bradhurst (*second*), whose mother's name was Anne Pell, as is sufficiently proved by Records and by her family pedigree. As, therefore, Samuel Bradhurst's own mother was Anne Pell, we must assume that Mrs. Meliora Lewis, *née* Norwood, was so designated because she had *adopted* this young man and his children. This seems to be borne out by the fact that she left property to his children, calling them, in her Will, the children of her "son," Samuel Bradhurst. Her son-in-law, John Heath, was her executor. Her sister, Cornelia Norwood, spinster, too, left property to these children, calling them the children of Mrs. Lewis's "son," Samuel Bradhurst. Miss Cornelia Norwood's Will is dated 1787, her executors being her brother, Richard Norwood, and Samuel Bradhurst (of Pinehurst), one of the said "children."

To these ladies, then,—Mrs. Lewis and her sister, Miss Cornelia Norwood,—Samuel Bradhurst and his children had every reason to be indebted. There is no proof of any real relationship between them. The only family ties connecting them appear to have been remote. Their closest link lay through John Heath, who was both

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NORWOOD AND LEWIS

DIRK JANSE CROON, Magistrate of Beverwyck 1655 and 1658; Superintendent of wells 1660. "In 1663 Maria Wessels claimed half of his property on account of breach of promise"
ADRIAEN JANSE CROON was of Beverwyck in 1660
THOMAS LEWIS = GEESJE BARENTS
TENNIS CORNELIS VAN DER POEL (alias SPITSBERGEN), in Beverwyck 1660-87; owned half of Constapel's Island; Magistrate of Albany 1671. His Will is dated 17th June, 1687
= CATRINA JANSE CROON (d. 1694)
Benjamin NORWOOD = Cornelia ——? (d. 1772)
Barent LEWIS = Johanna VAN DER POEL [m. 4th Aug., 1686] Baptised 20th April, 1664 was of New York
Elizabeth Vanderpoel m. (1st) Sybrant Van Schaick m. (2nd) Bennony Van Corlaer
Maria Vanderpoel m. Anthony Van Schaick
David MORENES (alias MARINUS), of Albany
Andrew Norwood
Sarah NORWOOD married in New Jersey, 26th May, 1737, Joseph LINN, of Philadelphia
Benjamin Norwood
Richard NORWOOD Executor to his sister, Cornelia, with Samuel Bradhurst; and they sold property in Ferry Street with the authority of (John Norwood, Benjamin Bradhurst, Michael Conner and Cornelia Conner, his wife) the heirs of Cornelia Norwood
Cornelia NORWOOD By Will 1787 left all her property to the children of her sister's "son," Samuel Bradhurst (2nd). The Executors were Samuel Bradhurst (3rd) and Richard Norwood
Meliora NORWOOD (d. 1765) leaving property to children of her "son," Samuel Bradhurst. John Heath was Executor
= Anthony LEWIS [m. 1726] Baptised 1st Jan., 1690; d. before 1765. Sold property in Smith (now William) Street, New York in 1727
= Jannetje MARINUS [m. (1st) 1714] (b. about 1694)
Both the above Wills call this Samuel Bradhurst the "son" of Mrs. Lewis
Jonathan BROADHURST, High Sheriff of Albany 1701-3
Samuel BRADHURST = Ann PELL (b. 1700) Drowned 1755
Anne LEWIS (b. 1727)
Johanna LEWIS Baptised in New York 10th April, 1715
Barent Lewis (b. 1711)
Barent Lewis (b. 1717)
David Lewis (b. 1719)
(HEATH, 1720)
Samuel BRADHURST (b. 1727; d. 1762) He calls John Heath his "brother," and made him his Executor
= Hannah HEATH (b. 1727; d. 1761) "She was of a respectable family of the Seamines." Her "father" was — Heath, of New York in 1720
John HEATH = (d. 1776) Executor of the Will of Meliora Lewis. He is called the "brother" of Hannah Heath. Executor also to Samuel Bradhurst who died 1762
(1st 1746) Ann LEWIS (2nd 1760) Eletha PELL
Samuel BRADHURST = Mary SMITH (b. 1749) Mentioned in the Will of Mrs. Lewis, and in that of Miss Norwood, as one of the children of the former's "son" Samuel Bradhurst. He was Executor to Miss Norwood and Mrs. Lewis. He calls the latter the "Mother of Samuel Bradhurst"
Benjamin BRADHURST (b. 1751) (Probably named after Benjamin Norwood). Was mentioned in the Wills of Mrs. Lewis and of her sister, Miss Cornelia Norwood, as being one of the children of the former's "son," Samuel Bradhurst
Plunkett BRADHURST (b. 1753; d. before 1761)
Cornelia BRADHURST = (b. 1757) Named in the Will of Mrs. Lewis as one of the children of Mrs. Lewis's "son," Samuel Bradhurst. (She was probably named after Cornelia Norwood, in whose Will she is also mentioned)
(1st) Philip LINN (June 16th, 1780) (2nd) Michael CONNER (3rd) Isaac WHITEMAN
Sarah BRADHURST (b. 1758; d. 1781) Named in the Will of Meliora Lewis as one of the children of Mrs. Lewis's "son," Samuel Bradhurst. Also mentioned in the Will of Cornelia Norwood. (Sarah Bradhurst was probably named after Sarah Norwood, who married John Linn, of Philadelphia)
Mary BRADHURST John Heath was one of her Sponsors (1759) (d. before 1761)
John Maunsell BRADHURST married Elizabeth WILMERDING
BRADHURST FAMILY
Maria Theresa BRADHURST married H. H. SCHIEFFELIN
SCHIEFFELIN FAMILY
Catherine Anne BRADHURST married (1st) John McKESSON (2nd) Hickson W. FIELD, senior She had no issue by either marriage
John LINN (b. 16th March, 1781) Baptised 11th April, 1781
James Samuel Whiteman (b. 2nd Jan., 1795) Baptised 2nd Feb., 1795
Heath WHITEMAN
Benjamin Bradhurst WHITEMAN
Left descendants

Mrs. Lewis's son-in-law and Samuel Bradhurst's brother-in-law. There were two other marriages of their mutual relatives, which may be remarked: to wit, the second marriage of John Heath to Samuel Bradhurst's cousin, Eletha Pell; and the marriage of Samuel Bradhurst's half-uncle, Bartholomew Schaets, into the family of Lewis. Several of Samuel Bradhurst's children were named after the brothers and sisters of "Mrs. Meliora Lewis"; one of them, Cornelia Bradhurst,—named after Miss Cornelia Norwood,—married, in 1780, Philip Linn; and it is noticeable that Joseph Linn had married, in 1737, Sarah Norwood, a sister of Mrs. Lewis and of Miss Cornelia Norwood. We have thus brought before us,—without evidence of any direct kinship between the Bradhursts and Mrs. Lewis or the Norwoods,—the conjectures arising from the adoption of the Bradhursts by Mrs. Lewis and Miss Norwood, taken in conjunction with the proofs of intermarriages between the families of—

BRADHURST and SCHAETS—SCHAETS and LEWIS—LEWIS and NORWOOD
BRADHURST and PELL—LEWIS and HEATH
BRADHURST and HEATH—PELL and HEATH
BRADHURST and LINN LINN and NORWOOD

It would be as fruitless as it is tedious to dwell further on these complications, which, it is hoped, the accompanying Genealogical Table may help to explain.

Samuel's Bradhurst's wife (*née* Anne Heath) died 28th May, 1761, "of consumption," at the age of thirty-four; and he, surviving her only eleven months, died aged thirty-five, 28th April, 1762, "*through excessive grief at the loss of his bosom friend, went to seek her beyond the grave.*" There is something pathetic in the manner in which their son, Samuel Bradhurst, of Pinehurst, thus briefly records in his MS. the deaths of these young parents, whose lives both dated from the same year, 1727: who were united at the age of twenty-one, and were both cut off within a year by the same fatal disease; leaving, as the MS. says, "an orphan family." Of these children, four out of the six survived their parents, the youngest son, Plunkett Bradhurst, and the youngest daughter, Mary, having died in early childhood. But the four orphans seem to have found most generous guardians in their uncle, John Heath, and in his mother-in-law, Meliora (Norwood), widow of Anthony Lewis, and in her sister, Miss Cornelia Norwood.

Samuel Bradhurst's Will—in which his name is spelt *Broadhurst*—was dated 16th March, 1672, and in it he provides for his four surviving children, Samuel, Benjamin, Cornelia, and Sarah; and he appointed, as sole executor, his "*friend and brother Goldsmith, John Heath.*" It was witnessed by "Joshua Slidell," "Vincent Carter," and "John Excen, house-carpenter": it was proved in 1762, and is entered in the Surrogate's Office, New York.

The children of Samuel Bradhurst by Anne Heath (who was "buried in Trinity Churchyard near her family"[1]) were:

1. SAMUEL, born Wednesday, 5th July, 1749. As he was the *third* of his name, we will call him "Samuel Bradhurst, of *Pinehurst*," in order not to confuse him with his father and grandfather.

2. BENJAMIN, born Thursday, 6th July, 1751. Married, 17th June, 1773, Miss Fanny Kennedy. In the record of that event his name is spelt "Broadhurst," which shows at how late a date some of the family still retained the "*o*."

3. PLUNKETT, born Saturday, 14th January, 1753. He "died of the small-pox,"[2] predeceasing his mother (Anne Heath), the date of whose death is 28th May, 1761.

4. CORNELIA, born Saturday, 10th January, 1757. Her marriage license to Philip Linn is dated 16th June, 1780. Her son, John Linn, was born 16th March, 1781, and baptized 11th April of that year. Before 1787[3] she had married secondly Michael Conner. Tradition says of her that she was beautiful, and possessed of great charm and talent, and gifted with remarkable musical attainments. It is said that her second marriage proved unhappy and childless; and that her only child of the first marriage having died, she eloped and made a

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[1] The MS. of her son, Samuel Bradhurst (*third*), *of Pinehurst.* In this MS., which he calls *The Events and Ages of my Family*, he states that his parents had *four sons* and *two daughters;* but, as seen above, they had *three sons* and *three daughters.* This is probably an inaccuracy owing to the fact that the MS. was written long after the deaths of two of the children. But it may have been that there was a *fourth* son, who died in infancy; and that the writer purposely omitted his sister, Cornelia, with whom, it is known, he was latterly most indignant on account of her elopement and *mésalliance.*

[2] These dates and details are in the MS., *Events and Ages of my Family.*

[3] This is shown by Miss Cornelia Norwood's Will, the date of which is 1787.

mésalliance, and was repudiated by her family. In her old age, when in poor circumstances, and well-nigh blind, and crippled, her nephew, John Maunsell Bradhurst, came to her assistance, and sent his son, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, to see to her at regular intervals. Her third husband was Isaac Whiteman, by whom she had two sons, Heath Whiteman, and Benjamin Bradhurst Whiteman. The latter married and left descendants.

5. SARAH, born Saturday, 1st October, 1758. She died 28th December, 1781, and was buried at Paramus, where her eldest brother was then living. He dedicated to her what he describes in his MS. as "This Monument of Love, by all who knew her," in which her virtues are characteristically enumerated and eulogised.

6. MARY, born Sunday, 10th June, 1759. Her sponsors were Jane Stevenson and her uncle, John Heath.[1] She, like her brother Plunkett, died before 28th May, 1761, of the same illness, and predeceasing her parents.

[1] Old Register of Trinity Church, New York, wherein the name is frequently spelt "Broadhurst."

Samuel Bradhurst,

of

Pinehurst

SAMUEL BRADHURST, OF PINEHURST

By permission of the Executors of the late Mrs. Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst

SAMUEL BRADHURST, OF PINEHURST

CHAPTER I

HIS EARLY YEARS

SAMUEL BRADHURST, of Pinehurst, eldest son of Samuel Bradhurst (by Anne Heath), was born Wednesday, 5th July, 1749, and became one of the leading men of New York in his day, taking not only an active part in the stirring events which he survived, but, when peace was concluded, devoting a great portion of his time and fortune to the advancement of local matters, and the endowment and management of charitable institutions, in which he took as deep an interest as he did in all political and patriotic questions. Guided in all things, whether as soldier, landlord, or merchant, by his keen sense of honour, he won for himself the respect and esteem of his English relatives as well as his American, and enjoyed the intimate friendship of some of the most distinguished men at that time. He was devoutly religious; and the sorrows of his early youth seem to have left their impress on his character; and even as his lofty feeling of honour rendered him a true soldier, a faithful friend, and a trusted man in business, so the recollection of his early troubles perhaps helped to increase that gentle kindliness and sympathy which he ever displayed in all cases of affliction, and especially in those of orphan or unhappy childhood.

He was only six years old when the news reached his parents that his grandfather (the *first* Samuel Bradhurst) was drowned off Lisbon in the Great Earthquake of 1755. A few years later his youngest brother, Plunkett, and his youngest sister, Mary, both succumbed to an outbreak of small-pox; and when Samuel Bradhurst was barely twelve years old, his mother (*née* Anne Heath) died of consumption on the 28th May, 1761, at the age of thirty-four. On

the following 28th April (1762) the grieving father died of the same disease, being then only thirty-five years of age, leaving four surviving children, Samuel not yet thirteen, Benjamin scarcely eleven, Cornelia five, and Sarah three and a half.

It was as the eldest of these four little orphans that Samuel Bradhurst now became imbued with that tender pity for the young and helpless which so characterised his later years.

His father[1] had, it appears, been adopted by Meliora,[2] the widow of Mr. Anthony Lewis, of New York, and this lady now undertook the care of the children. Whether she was related to them, and if so in what manner, can it seems be only a matter of conjecture. Her responsibility, however, only lasted three years, for then again these unfortunate children were deprived of her guardianship, almost before they had had time to recover from the loss of their parents. Affliction had again overtaken Samuel Bradhurst, and his young brother, Benjamin, and his sisters, Cornelia and Sarah, for in 1765, Mrs. Lewis died, and her sister, Miss Cornelia Norwood, became the guardian of the orphans.

Mrs. Lewis provided by Will for the four children of her "son," the late Samuel Bradhurst, and her executor was John Heath, who was also that Mr. Bradhurst's executor. Of the children, Samuel was then in his sixteenth year, Benjamin in his fourteenth, and Cornelia and Sarah in their eighth and seventh years respectively.

That Miss Cornelia Norwood and Mr. Heath did their best for the young family in their charge is evident from the education they received, the noble-minded principles which they imbibed, and the care with which their fortunes were nursed and husbanded during their long minorities.

Samuel Bradhurst took his diploma, or degree, in 1770, at the age of twenty-one, at Hackensack.[3]

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[1] Who was born 1727.

[2] Meliora Norwood was married to Anthony Lewis 1726.

[3] "Hackensack is the chief town in Bergen county, New Jersey; is situated near the west bank of the above river, twenty miles north-west of New York city. The inhabitants are mostly Dutch; the houses are chiefly built of stone in the old

In those, the last days of colonial New York, when British influence was on the wane, and the murmuring colonies were swerving in their allegiance to the oppressive Government of George the Third, there were no men of leisure, for there was far less wealth than under the Constitution established by Washington. And young Samuel Bradhurst, having completed his education, next devoted himself to the study of medicine, and thus acquired that skill which rendered his services so valuable in the War, and which afterwards gained for him his repute in the early years of American Independence, and by means of which he was able to gratify his passion for alleviating the sufferings of the poor.

Pursuing his studies in New Jersey, he received his License at Newark, 2nd November, 1774, "in the twelfth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Third."

Being a young man of some property, and the heir of one of the oldest colonial families in the state, his successful studies in New Jersey were a matter of some interest in New York, and the *New York Journal* of 10th November, 1774, contains the following paragraph: "We hear from New Jersey that Mr. Samuel Bradhurst, of this city, was admitted to the practice of Physic and Surgery by the Judge of the Supreme Court, held at Newark last week."

"The name of Bradhurst," says Mr. Walter Barrett in his work on the *Old Merchants* of New York, published in 1885, "is well known to the Old Merchants of New York city, and well may it be, for it has existed here nearly a hundred years." Mr. Barrett would have been more accurate had he said that the name had been established in New York *State* for nearly *two* hundred years at the time that he wrote, since Jonathan, the first of the name in America, was married in Albany, in 1696. "They made doctors," Mr. Barrett adds, "in a very careful fashion in the olden time. Of course, I do not mention Samuel Bradhurst because he was a doctor, but because he was afterwards a merchant." But Mr. Barrett does not tell us that Samuel Bradhurst was also a soldier.

Dutch taste. Here are four public buildings, a Dutch and an Episcopal Church, a Court House, and a *flourishing Academy*."—Extracts from an old book dated 1797, in the possession of H. M. Bradhurst, Junr.

Five months after obtaining his medical licence, the first shot of the War of American Independence was fired in the long skirmish called the battle of Lexington,[1] or Concord; and soon the fire which had been smouldering burst into flame. The colonies now added decisive actions to the mutterings of their Congress, whilst, in spite of the oratory and warnings of some of its most brilliant members, a crass Parliament continued to hurl threats which fell as unheeded as Papal Bulls on Henry VIII.

Events followed quickly: on 17th June the battle of Bunker's Hill was fought, and four days later Washington set out to take up his command, and on reaching his forces issued an order telling them that they were now "the troops of the United Provinces of North America." One of the first of the many great difficulties which he had to overcome was the want of powder; he wrote to Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey for every pound of powder and lead that could be spared. "No quantity, however small, is beneath notice," he said.

On the 14th of the following April[2] he arrived in New York, and then ensued those military engagements on and about the Bradhurst lands, which rendered the Pinehurst estate historic ground. The Americans, rank and file, numbered only 8,101, present and fit for duty; of these, many were without arms, and one regiment is said to have had only ninety-seven firelocks and seven bayonets, whilst the artillery consisted of merely one regiment and one company. The Declaration of Rights had been issued in June, and on 4th July (the day before Samuel Bradhurst's twenty-sixth birthday), it had been crowned by the yet more celebrated Declaration of Independence, when, on 15th September, the British landed at the foot of Thirty-fourth Street on the East River, and General Washington, finding himself unable to check the retreat of his force, withdrew to Harlem Heights, and made his headquarters in the vicinity of Pinehurst, at a similar mansion.[3] He visited Pinehurst, and among the things associated with him there, was the table at which he is said to have

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[1] April, 1775. [2] April, 1776.

[3] Washington's headquarters were at the old mansion, afterwards the country seat of Madame Jumel.

dined and written his despatches. These mansions Lieutenant Henrich, of the British Rifles, reckons among "the most beautiful houses," and says: "I had the honour of taking possession of these handsome dwellings. . . . All of these houses were filled with furniture and other valuable articles, lawful prizes of war; but the owners had fled, leaving all their slaves behind."

On the 16th September, after some skirmishing, the British pursued an American scouting-party until they reached the northern edge of Bloomingdale Heights, but they in turn were driven back to their lines, and then Washington withdrew; and, being unmolested, gave himself up to the erection of defensive works which, like the Pinehurst Estate, extended entirely across the Island of New York, from the Hudson to the Harlem River. These lines of defence lay between One Hundred and Forty-fifth and One Hundred and Sixtieth Streets; and it was between those streets—streets as they now are, although in those days, and for many a day afterwards no street was opened or built upon in that country district—that the home of the Bradhursts and much of their property was situated.

On the 21st September, the same year, a great fire broke out in New York, and destroyed, among other buildings of interest, Old Trinity Church; and in spite of the great efforts made to save it, there remained only some of its old records, and among these, partly burnt, is the entry of the marriage of Samuel Bradhurst's parents:

"1748. July 9th. Samuel Broadhurst
married
Hannah Heath."

There were other records there, too, relating to the Bradhursts.[1]

In October (1776) General Washington decided to abandon his position at Harlem, leaving 3,000 men at Fort Washington, which was in after years one of the many objects of interest in the neighbourhood of Pinehurst. He sent a strong detachment into New Jersey, where young Samuel Bradhurst then was.

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[1] When subsequently a copy was made of the old partly destroyed Register, the name "Bradhurst," being half burnt, was mistaken for "Brad*street*," and was thus erroneously copied and entered in the records on the rebuilding of the church.

New York passed again entirely into the hands of the British, who, although, their headquarters were at No 1 Broadway, now used Pinehurst mansion as their chief quarters in the vicinity of Harlem. At the latter there was a brigade of infantry (sixth, twenty-third, and forty-fourth regiments) and a brigade of Hessians. Meanwhile, at the close of the year 1776, the Americans were successful in New Jersey, where Samuel Bradhurst now joined the militia of that State.

At the battle of Princeton, 13th January, Lord Cornwallis was out-manœuvred by Washington, who wrote a few days later, saying that "the enemy must be ignorant of our numbers, or they have not horses to move their artillery, or they would not suffer us to remain undisturbed." And the following month he says, "At this time we are only about 4,000 strong."

The force fit for duty in New Jersey on 14th March was under 3,000, and the militia—in which Samuel Bradhurst was an officer—numbered 981. Small-pox raged among them, and this gave him the opportunity of proving that he was a young man of science as well as of valour. "*Vaccination had not yet been thought of, and inoculation—a practice now penal—was the only available remedy. The number under inoculation, with their attendants, was about one thousand. Apprehension of the small-pox greatly retarded enlistments.*"

In spite of these difficulties the Americans so harrassed the British that the latter, under General Howe, finally withdrew from their only two remaining posts in the State, having exercised great ravages there, "Tories" and "Whigs" being plundered alike by them.

The conduct of Mr. Bradhurst, both as soldier and surgeon, did not escape the notice of Washington, who, on the first anniversary[1] of the Declaration of Independence, wrote that the spirit with which the militia of New Jersey had turned out lately on the alarm of a movement of General Howe's, had "*far exceeded*" his "*most sanguine expectations.*"

In July the Americans suffered a defeat of their militia near Fort

[1] 4th July, 1777.

MARY SMITH,
Wife of Samuel Bradhurst

From a miniature in the possession of her great-granddaughter, Elizabeth, Princess Brancaccio

Schuyler, and at the battle of Brandywine, in September, the British took nearly 400 prisoners.

Samuel Bradhurst was wounded, and was taken prisoner; but whether or not these misfortunes befell him in one of the engagements here mentioned, it appears impossible to state definitely.

CHAPTER II

A PRISONER ON PARÔLE—HIS COURTSHIP

SAMUEL BRADHURST was sent by his captors, on parôle, to the residence of Colonel James Marc Prevost, an English officer of considerable distinction, who commanded the British forces in New Jersey. Of Swiss extraction, his family[1] have rendered good service to the land of their adoption: his eldest brother, after settling in England, attained the rank of Major-General, and his nephew, Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost,[2] was Governor-General and Commander of the Forces in British North America, and was created a Baronet in 1805.

Samuel Bradhurst was most kindly received by Colonel Prevost and his wife, and whatever restraint he was under as an American, and as a prisoner, was to some extent mitigated by the fact that Mrs. Prevost was also an American by birth. She was Theodosia, the daughter of Theodosius Bartow,[3] counsellor-at-law, of Shrewsbury in New Jersey. Her mother was the youngest of the "six beautiful sisters," daughters of Richard and Mercy Stillwell, and, having married again after Mr. Bartow's death, was at this time the widow of an English officer, Captain Philip de Visme.[4]

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[1] This family must not be confused with that of *Provoost*, nor yet with that of Mallet-Prevost, the latter having only assumed the additional "Prevost" in consequence of marriage with a lady of that name.

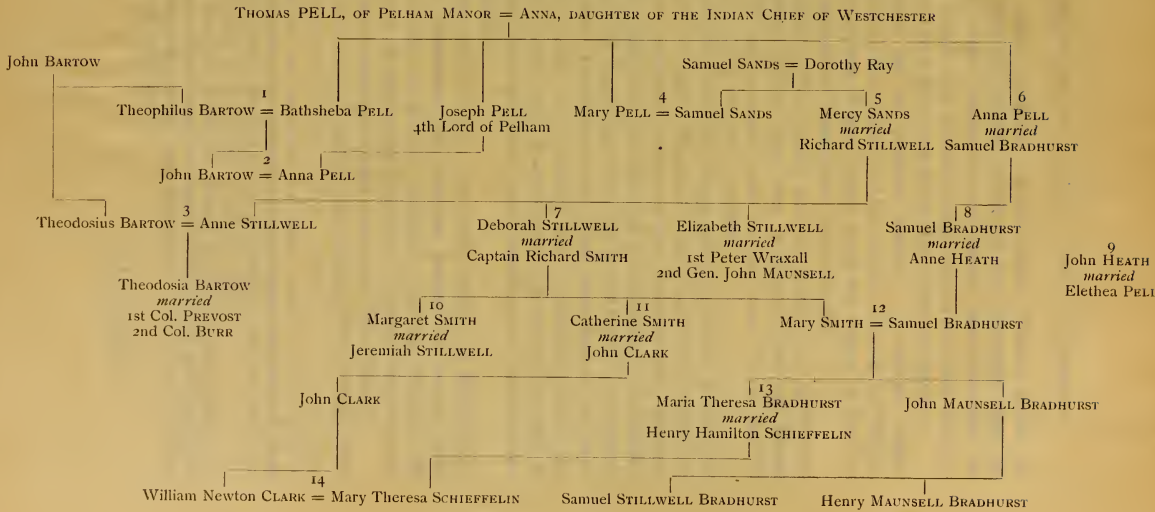
[2] Sir George Prevost led what has been called the second invasion of New York, in the war of 1812-14.

[3] The Bartows are a well-known family in Westchester County. Samuel Bradhurst's great-grandfather, the 3rd Lord of Pelham, and his great-uncle, the 4th Lord, had both been interred on Bartow Place.

[4] The Counts de Vismes settled in England, represent a branch of the noble French family of that name. Mrs. Prevost had several step-brothers and sisters, children of Captain Philip de Visme. The branch in America seem to have dropped the final "s" from their name.

THE INTERMARRIAGES OF NINE FAMILIES

Showing the family ties existing between Samuel Bradhurst and his wife, Mary Smith; also showing how the following nine families were connected by fourteen intermarriages:—



Note:—In the above the 14 intermarriages are numbered.

When Samuel Bradhurst reached Colonel Prevost's (which was nine miles from Hackensack, where he had previously taken his degree), the Colonel's sons were quite young—John (afterwards the Honourable John Bartow Prevost) being about twelve years old—and there was, on a visit, Miss Mary Smith, Mrs. Prevost's cousin.

Miss Smith was the youngest daughter of a gallant English officer, Captain Richard Smith, and her mother, living at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, was Mrs. Prevost's aunt, being the second of the "six beautiful" daughters of Richard and Mercy Stillwell.[1]

The position of Mrs. Prevost and her young cousin at this time much resembled that of those who, in time of civil war, having friends on both sides, scarcely know for what issue to pray, lest the weal of one should be the woe of another.

Whatever Mrs. Prevost's feelings may have been as the wife and step-daughter of English officers, she was a purely born American; and whatever Miss Smith's sentiments may have been as the daughter of a British captain, she came (through her mother) of the Stillwell family, which had already then been settled in America for a hundred and forty years. The interest which these ladies took in the handsome young prisoner was, probably, due to something more than their sympathy for his wound—something more than the fact that he was connected with them both, by the marriages of his great-aunts with their uncles.

For Mrs. Prevost's uncle, Theophilus Bartow, of Westchester, had married Bathsheba Pell, youngest daughter of the 3rd Lord Pelham by Anna, the Indian. Bathsheba Pell was therefore the sister of Samuel Bradhurst's grandmother—in other words, his great-aunt—and by her marriage became aunt also of Mrs. Prevost.[2]

When Mrs. Prevost received the messengers who brought news

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[1] Mr. Bradhurst and Miss Smith had mutual relatives; for her great-uncle, Samuel Sands (brother of her grandmother, Mercy Stillwell), had married Mr. Bradhurst's great-aunt, Mary Pell, who was his grandmother's sister, and one of the daughters of Thomas, Lord of Pelham, by Anna, the Indian.

[2] In later years, John Bartow (who, through his father, Theophilus Bartow, was Mrs. Prevost's cousin, and through his mother, Bathsheba Pell, was Samuel Bradhurst's cousin) married his cousin, Anna Pell, daughter of the *4th* Lord of Pelham, Samuel Bradhurst's great-uncle.

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of the war to the British Commander's Residency, she had with her her girl cousin and the young American, her compatriot, to whom she was thus distantly related; and when, with trembling hands, she eagerly read such letters as, in those troubled times, reached their destination, she found ready sympathy in Mary Smith and Samuel Bradhurst.

The friendship that thus sprung up soon ripened; and the romance of the situation was not lost. But one day the order came for the removal of the captive to New York. Who can say with what sensations he took his leave, or with what feelings one, at least, of the ladies bade him farewell?

By the irony of fate, the headquarters of his captors in that city were in Broadway—that very street in which, a few years hence, when they were ousted, he became possessed of much valuable property.

In New York, however, he was not long detained; for soon after being sent there he was discharged—for what reason, or by what influence, does not appear; but it is not improbable that Colonel Prevost, and through him, his wife (having her cousin's happiness at heart), exerted themselves to this end.

Samuel Bradhurst next applied to Mrs. Smith, at Shrewsbury, for her consent to his marriage with her daughter; and, having obtained this, married Mary Smith on the 1st of January, 1779—or, as he says in his MS., on "Wednesday evening, being the New Year's Eve of 1779[1]—at the residence of Mrs. Prevost, Colonel Prevost being then absent in command in East Florida.

In mentioning his marriage, Mr. Bradhurst adds:

"May health, peace, and competency crown each revolving year; and when they come to the close of their life, may it be said of them, that Religion and Philanthropy were among their virtues."

Those who knew him and his wife, know that he lived up to these ideals to the last, and bear witness to the fulfilment of these wishes.

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[1] "The New Year's Eve of 1779," would be 31st December, 1778. The marriage license was dated 16th December, 1778, at Trenton, New Jersey.

"The Hermitage," Hohokus, New Jersey

Formerly the residence of Mrs. Prevost

The young couple took a house at Paramus,[1] near that of the kind relative to whom they were indebted for the successful issue of their romance, and she, in the absence of Colonel Prevost, was glad to seek their sympathy in the tidings which came from the south. He, a few days after the wedding, which had taken place from his New Jersey residence under Mrs. Prevost's auspices, marched from East Florida through Lower Georgia to Savannah, subduing the country as he went, and practically regained the whole of that province for England. General Lincoln had succeeded to the command of the American army, and him Colonel Prevost signally defeated on 3rd March at Briar Arch, on the Savannah River, near Augusta. Of Lincoln's whole force, 450 men only rejoined him; and Prevost pushed forward to Charleston in May. The Council of the State sent to him a proposition for its neutrality during the war, but this he disdained; and, declining to treat with the civil government, commanded the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war.[2] He was, however, obliged to draw off, leaving a post at Stony Ferry. His brother, Major-General Prevost (the father of Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart.), was present with him at the siege of Savannah.

Later in the same year, 1779, Colonel Prevost died in the West Indies.

Mrs. Prevost appears to have continued to reside for some time in New Jersey, for her old home at Hohokus, near Paramus, called "The Hermitage," is still standing, and is now pointed out with interest as having been "the widow Prevost's house." It was most probably there that she was living when Aaron Burr subsequently wooed her.

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[1] Paramus, in New Jersey, nine miles from Hackensack.

[2] A year later, in May, 1780, Lincoln surrendered Charleston to Sir H. Clinton.

CHAPTER III

HE SETTLES IN NEW JERSEY

THE winter of 1779-80 was early and unusually rigorous, and more unfavourable to the main army under Washington than the previous one. There were 200 millions of paper dollars in circulation, but forty of them were only worth one in specie; a pair of boots cost 600 dollars.[1]

On the 26th November, Samuel Bradhurst's elder son was born at Paramus, and named Samuel Hazard, after Mr. Bradhurst's friend, the Postmaster-General.[2]

Of Samuel Bradhurst's brother and sisters, at this time, Benjamin Bradhurst had been married seven years; Cornelia Bradhurst was married in June of this year (1780) to Mr. Philip Linn; and Sarah, the admired and accomplished, had inherited that fatal disease—consumption—which had carried off both their parents at an early age, and to which she, too, succumbed on 28th December, 1781, "at the house of Mrs. Bawldings at Paramus."

On Wednesday, the 14th August, 1782, Samuel Bradhurst's second son was born at Paramus, and baptized[3] in the old Dutch Church there, receiving the names John Maunsell, being named after General John Maunsell, a British officer, whose wife was an aunt of Mrs. Bradhurst's (and of Mrs. Prevost's), her maiden name having been Elizabeth Stillwell. It is thus that the name of "Maunsell" came into the Bradhurst family, as well as into those families with which they have intermarried, notably the Schieffelins and the Fields.

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[1] £120!—See *The War of American Independence*. In Samuel Bradhurst's MS. he particularly mentions the "very cold and hard winter."

[2] Ebenezer Hazard, eventually Postmaster-General of the United States, was an accomplished author.

[3] Baptized by the Reverend — Vanderlin, who had also officiated at the baptism of Samuel Hazard Bradhurst.

General and Mrs. Maunsell had no children, and much of their property passed to her numerous nephews and nieces in America, and particularly to her niece, Mrs. Bradhurst, *née* Mary Smith. The General—a distinguished soldier—was an Irishman by birth, whose ancestors had come to England with the Norman Conquest. But it was not merely because of the antiquity of his name, nor because of the honour which he added to it by his military achievements, nor because of his bequests, that so many of his wife's relatives were proud to hand it down, but on account of the most marked affection and interest which he always displayed in every detail for their happiness. One has but to read his letters to see the kindliness with which he inquired after the welfare of each and all, and the heart-whole consideration he gave to their troubles, and the pains he took to advise those who were helpless. It was by such acts that he endeared himself to the first generation of nephews and nieces, and it is the tradition of them that has passed on the name, in various branches of the family, with regard and esteem.

Of his career, and of Mrs. Maunsell, and of the passing of their American lands into the possession of the Bradhursts, we will speak later; suffice it to say, that at this time—when John Maunsell Bradhurst was born—the General was a Major-General—gazetted 19th October, 1781[1]—having been appointed to a post in Ireland, at Kinsale.

Soon after the birth of his second son, Samuel Bradhurst moved from Paramus, the scene of his captivity and courtship, to Hackensack; and about this period Mrs. Prevost contracted her second marriage.[2] Her family do not seem to have disapproved; and, indeed, at this time, Colonel Aaron Burr was almost as much respected as he was in later years detested. Men of integrity and good standing, both English and American, had a high opinion of him; and even General Maunsell—a man of the world, equally at home at Court or in camp, in colonial society or among the Irish peasantry—even he, and such as he, at this period, looked on Aaron Burr as a man to be thoroughly trusted. Writing to Mrs. Watkins, another sister of Mrs. Maunsell's

[1] He was promoted to Lieutenant-General 12th October, 1793.

[2] Mrs. Prevost was about ten years older than Colonel Burr.

—who was a widow, and in need of advice about her estate—the General says, in his letter dated "London, 14th December, 1783" (and addressed to Mrs. Watkins "at the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Moore's, New York"): "My dear sister, Mr. Burr will counsel you in all this. I hear a great character of him, and I think Theo" (Mrs. Prevost) "was lucky in meeting so good a man. You may rest assured that my wife and myself are your sincerest and most disinterested friends, and your happiness shall be our first and only object. Consult Mr. Burr only, whose goodness will induce him to give you the best advice."

But after a while we find the General's opinion of Aaron Burr entirely changed.

Mrs. Prevost—now Theodosia Burr—bade good-bye to the young couple in whose romance she had played so conspicuous a part; and they, soon after their arrival at Hackensack, were plunged in grief by the loss of their eldest child, Samuel Hazard Bradhurst, 10th June, 1783, aged three and a half. Mrs. Smith,[1] Mr. Bradhurst's mother-in-law, had been on a visit a short time before the sad occurrence, and had been much impressed by the child's insistence that he saw angels in the sky and wished to fly with them. He was buried in the churchyard at Hackensack.

New York was still in the possession of the British, and those who were quartered round about Pinehurst made free use of another old country house, on Harlem Heights, the residence of Mrs. Watkins, and it was with reference to this that General Maunsell, her brother-in-law, recommended her to seek the advice of their newly-acquired nephew,[2] Aaron Burr. Little did Burr think, when he went to advise this good lady at her home, how strangely his fate in after years was to be linked with a mansion which stood hard by. Her husband, Mr. John Watkins, had been influenced in the choice of this property by the fact of its being near the home of his friend, Colonel Roger Morris. The latter, as a Royalist, had sailed for England, on the

[1] Mrs. Maunsell, Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Watkins were three of the "six beautiful" Misses Stillwell; the other three being Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Pemberton, and Mrs. (Bartow) de Vismes.

[2] Nephew by marriage.

outbreak of war, in the same vessel with General Maunsell. It was in his visits to Mrs. Watkins that Colonel Burr now beheld the Morris estate, eventually confiscated by the American Government, and then, later on, the property of the famous Madame Jumel, the friend of Lafayette, destined to become Burr's second wife, and the cause of his last public scandal—to wit, his speedy divorce.

CHAPTER IV

HE RETURNS TO NEW YORK ON THE EVACUATION BY THE BRITISH

Soon after the death of their child, the Bradhursts heard the first rumours of the evacuation of New York by the British, and for some time this was the chief topic of conversation, and men thought of little else.

On the memorable 25th November, 1783, the British soldiers marched out, and the American troops entered New York amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm, and the Stars and Stripes were unfurled to the re-echoing cheers of a liberated People.

Crowds of refugees, and others who for various reasons had avoided New York during the British occupancy, now returned, Samuel Bradhurst among them. It was five years since he had last come there, a prisoner of war, and the city and its neighbourhood had suffered heavily. "Its beautiful groves had been cut down by the military sapper; its velvet lawns upturned for intrenchment purposes, or indented by artillery-wheels; and its fairest and broadest avenue had been blackened and mutilated by the flames."

Now followed the confiscation of Royalist estates—(such as Colonel Morris's, formerly General Washington's headquarters)—now, too, was the time for the reward of the Patriots.

The services of Samuel Bradhurst were not forgotten, and, through the instrumentality of Washington, he received a grant of fifteen hundred acres of land in Virginia, in the County (it is said) of Kanawah.

On the conclusion of peace the citizens of New York devoted their energies to the restoration of their homes, and to the reparation of their impaired fortunes; and entered with renewed activity into mercantile pursuits. Mr. Bradhurst appears only to have briefly

visited his Virginian estate;[1] for he gave himself up to the improvement and extension of his property in New York, and—as a means to that end—to his business in the city as a merchant, and to the medical profession.

In April, 1784, Mrs. Bradhurst gave birth to her first daughter, named Elizabeth after Mrs. Bradhurst's aunt, Mrs. Maunsell. Dr. Bradhurst—as he now was called—was then living in New York at the corner[2] of Peck Slip and Pearl Street. It was not until the following August that General Maunsell and his wife returned to America, from London, where they had been residing at 40 Bury Street, St. James's.

Dr. Bradhurst's second daughter was born on Sunday, the 24th of January, 1786,[3] and was baptized by Bishop Moore, receiving the names Maria Theresa,[4] as the namesake of her mother's cousin, Lady Barrington. An aunt of Mrs. Bradhurst's—one of the six Stillwell sisters—was the wife of an English officer, Colonel Thomas Clark, and the mother of three daughters, of whom the eldest married Bishop Moore; the second, Maria Theresa Clark, married Viscount Barrington, and was drowned when a bride on her way to England; and the third, Mary Clark, married firstly, Mr. Vassal, of Jamaica, and secondly, Sir Gilbert Affleck, Bart.,[5] of Dalham, Suffolk.

Mrs. Bradhurst's uncle, Colonel Clark, lived on his demesne (just north of Greenwich), which he called "Chelsea"—saying that it was the home of an old soldier—within easy distance of Mrs. Watkins' place, and of General Maunsell's (which was later called "Pinehurst"). Long afterwards Mrs. Bradhurst recalled her pleasant visits to the three aunts, on their several estates, Mrs. Maunsell, Mrs. Clark, and Mrs. Watkins, for "thus half 'the beautiful six' found themselves in pleasant proximity, and while each was distinguished by decided

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[1] He has left a memorandum, referring to the sale of slaves.

[2] This, I think, is 314 Pearl Street.—A. M. B.

[3] See his MS.

[4] She became Mrs. Henry Hamilton Schieffelin.

[5] Lady Affleck had an only daughter (by her first marriage), Elizabeth Vassal, who, after divorcing Sir G. Webster, married Lord Holland, and was the celebrated Lady Holland, whose gatherings at Holland House were so famous. Her daughter married the 3rd Lord Lilford, and her son was the last Lord Holland. The title is extinct; his widow was the late Lady Holland, *née* Coventry.

individual traits, and they were outwardly separated by the Revolution, yet they never lost their warm affection, sisterly sympathy, and readiness to help in time of need."

Apart from their relationship by marriage, Dr. Bradhurst counted Bishop Moore—who was at one time the President of Columbia (then King's) College—amongst his most intimate and distinguished friends. The Bishop's son was Clement Moore, the author of "'Twas the night before Christmas."

"In 1786," Mr. Barrett says that Dr. Bradhurst established himself "at 64 Queen Street, corner of Peck Slip, in commercial business."

About this time the New York Medical Society was "exceptionally strong in the character of its membership. Several of the surgeons and physicians had lately served in the army"; and, among the names specially mentioned in *The Memorial History of the City of New York* is that of Samuel Bradhurst.

Miss Cornelia Norwood—the kind and devoted guardian of Dr. Bradhurst, and of his brother and sister, during their orphan childhood—died in 1787, appointing him and her brother, Mr. Richard Norwood,[1] the executors of her Will. She bequeathed the whole of her property to Samuel Bradhurst, his brother Benjamin, and his sisters, Cornelia and Sarah, calling them, in her Will, the children of her sister's (Mrs. Meliora Lewis's) "son," the late Samuel Bradhurst. But as Sarah Bradhurst had died some six years previously, her share of this fortune fell to the others, of whom Cornelia (formerly Mrs. Philip Linn), was now the wife of Michael Conner.

[1] Richard Norwood had been admitted to the Freedom of New York in 1734.

CHAPTER V

THE MAUNSELL PROPERTY

INDIRECTLY, it seems that Samuel Bradhurst's descendants are more indebted to Miss Norwood than they are generally aware; for, however well-to-do he had previously been, his property had not escaped the ravages of war; and it was not until after his inheritance from that lady that he began to acquire that extent of real estate in and about New York which was the foundation of his family's well-known territorial possessions in that city.

In the same year that Miss Norwood died, Samuel Bradhurst entered into negotiations with Messrs. Ludlow & Goold for the purchase of 110 acres at Harlem from Mr. George Aitkin, of St. Croix, the executor of his brother, Charles Aitkin, who had bought this "Plantation" seventeen years before (in 1770) from General and Mrs. Maunsell.[1] This was the beginning of Mr. Bradhurst's acquisition of the Maunsell estate, the whole of which eventually became his, partly by purchase and partly by inheritance, and to which he and his son, John Maunsell Bradhurst, added many of the surrounding and adjoining lands.

To those who are acquainted with the rapid growth of New York city, and the consequent development of Harlem, the possession of 110 acres of, what are now, streets and avenues, is worthy of note; and yet this was but one of several of the farms or plantations which composed the Bradhurst estate, reaching finally across the whole breadth of Manhattan Island, from river to river. General Maunsell and his wife possessed a considerable amount of property in this neighbourhood both before and after the War of Independence; and this particular "Plantation" had been sold by them to Mr. Charles Aitkin, who dying and leaving daughters in minority, his brother

[1] The title-deed signed by General and Mrs. Maunsell, and witnessed by his brother-in-law, John Watkins, is now in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

George had the power of disposing of it. But as the latter resided in the West Indies, Messrs. Ludlow & Goold were authorized to act for him in the matter. In 1787 they wrote to Mr. Bradhurst:

"SIR,

"In consequence of a Power of Attorney, and Letter of Instruction & advice &ccc, received of Mr. George Aitkin, of St. Croix, Executor of the Last will of his brother, Mr. Charles Aitkin, deceased, extracts of his letter relating to that business we deliver to you. In consequence of the Powers intrusted in us, contained in the above letter &ccc, to dispose of the houses & land of the late Charles Aitkin at Harlem, in the outward of this City, we have considered of your Proposals for the Purchase of the same, and we do close & agree with your offer for the same, as signed by you. We do therefore Authorize you to take Possession of the said Premises, and do Promise that Proper Instruments[1] for vesting the said Farm &cc in you & your heirs, shall be by us sent to St. Croix to Mr. George Aitkin, for him to execute, and when we receive them, they shall be delivered to you on closing the Agreement.

"LUDLOW & GOOLD."

The "extracts" thus referred to, gave Messrs. Ludlow & Goold the necessary authority. In May and August, 1787, the "Instruments" referred to were duly signed, and the signatures attested by William Lowndes, Charles Rodgers, and Andrew Underhill. Now, after the lapse of a hundred years, the description of this property in those documents is interesting, and, as time goes on, it will become more so:

"All that certain Farm or Plantation whereof the said Charles Aitkin in his Life Time and at the Time of his Death was seized in Fee, situate lying and being in the Township of New Haarlem, in the County and State of New York, comprehending five several Pieces or Parcels of Land as the same was purchased by the said Charles Aitkin from John Maunsell and Elizabeth his Wife & containing in the whole one hundred and ten Acres and three Quarters of an Acre be there more or less; With all Houses, Outhouses, Buildings, Edifices, Advantages & Appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any Wise appertaining."

The five "pieces or parcels of land" are separately described; the first, "containing in all twenty Morgen and a half all Dutch

[1] These "Instruments," and, in fact, all the title-deeds, and the correspondence relating thereto, including Mr. Bradhurst's copies of his letters, are now in the possession of his great-grandson, A. M. Bradhurst.

Measure," is said to have been laid out, 23rd December, 1691, for "Maye Bastijanse by Order of the Patentees of the Township of New Haarlem out of the Common Land of the said Township"; the second piece is said to run along "Hudson's river"; the third is bounded "westerly by the Highway from New York to King's Bridge, easterly by the East River, Northwardly by land formerly belonging to John Watkins" &cc; the fourth is also bounded by the same Highway, and by the lands of John Watkins and of John Maunsell; and the fifth is described as "a certain Piece or Parcel of Wood Land" (bounded by the properties of J. Sickles and P. Waldron).

These details and names are given here not only because they were familiar to Samuel Bradhurst, but because many of them are familiar to a later generation—a generation which now is already fading, and to which some of these names of the past may recall memories, and revive old tales and anecdotes of sufficient interest to be preserved a while longer.

In 1788 we find Samuel Bradhurst and Richard Norwood, acting as Miss Norwood's executors, disposing of property to John de la Mater, "in the Swamp or Crupel Cush in Montgomerie Ward." Mr. Bradhurst afterwards bought back this property from Mr. de la Mater. It had been purchased by Miss Norwood in 1770, and was then described as being bounded "on the south-west to a new laid out street, called Ferry Street," and to the north-east by land belonging to "Jacobus Rosevelt," and to the south-east by the property of John Chambers. The witnesses to the last-mentioned transaction were Matthew Norwood and Lindley Murray,[1] the well-known grammarian, who was a friend of Mr. Bradhurst's.

On the 12th December following Miss Norwood's death (1787), Mr. Bradhurst's third daughter, Catherine Ann,[2] was born, and was baptized by the Rev. John Rogers.

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[1] The documents with their signatures are in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst. Matthew Norwood was presumbly a relative of Miss Norwood's; but her brothers' names were Andrew, Benjamin, and Richard.

[2] Her first husband was John McKesson, widower, a lawyer; her second husband was H. W. Field, Senior. She had no children by either marriage, but was the stepmother of the late John McKesson, of New York, and of the late H. W. Field, Junior, of the Palazzo delle Sette Sale, Rome.

Not content with his Virginian and Harlem estates (to the latter of which he was continually adding), Dr. Bradhurst began, a few years later, to buy up houses and property in the city of New York itself. In 1792-3 he bought what was known as the "Church Farm" (in Murray Street), it having been sold, some five years previously, by the Corporation of Trinity Church. The document relating to his purchase of this land (which was bounded on one side by Chapple Street) was signed, as witnesses, by two of his most intimate friends and relatives—by two names held in high honour among their contemporaries—by Samuel Watkins and Josiah Field.

In 1793, Mr. Bradhurst again added to his estate at Harlem, his relative, Samuel Watkins, appearing as witness before John Ray, Master in Chancery. That same year the firm of Bradhurst and Watkins was formed, at 314 Pearl Street. The latter partner was Mrs. Bradhurst's cousin, being a son of that Mrs. Watkins who, as already told, had formerly sought the advice of Colonel Burr, her niece's—Mrs. Prevost's—second husband, on the recommendation of General Maunsell. Samuel Watkins had an elder brother, Charles, and a younger brother, John Maunsell Watkins,[1] and his sisters were Mrs. James Beekman and Mrs. Dunkin.[2] Several of these, together with Mrs. Bradhurst, and their cousins, the Moores, and some of General Maunsell's own family—the Maunsells of Limerick—became eventually the heirs of their aunt, Mrs. Maunsell.

In February, 1794, John Ray and Josiah Field were the witnesses to a deed whereby Samuel Bradhurst acquired a portion of the De Lancey estate, "in the out ward of the city of New York," which had been "forfeited to the people of the said state by the attainder of

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[1] John Maunsell Watkins married Judith Livingston, who is mentioned in Gertrude Atherton's book on Alexander Hamilton, entitled *The Conqueror*.

[2] "The old shipping merchant, John Watkins, left a number of children. There was John, who married a daughter of Governor Livingston, and sister of Mrs. Governor Jay; Samuel, an old bachelor, whom I have described as a merchant as well as physician; another, a daughter, married James Beekman; and still another, who married a Mr. Duncan, of Albany." See *The Old Merchants of New York*. Mr. Barrett, the author, makes here two mistakes: for "Duncan" read "Dunkin"; and Samuel Watkins was not a bachelor, although he had no children. Mr. Barrett omits the eldest brother, Charles Watkins.

the said James De Lancey," in 1784. Mr. Bradhurst afterwards conveyed this land to Samuel Stillwell, his wife's relative.

In the following October, Dr. Bradhurst bought more property in the Sixth Ward; this had been forfeited land also, as appears from the original deed, dated 1786, wherein "Isaac Stoutenburgh and Philip Van Cortlandt, Esquires, Commissioners of Forfeitures," convey it to "John Murray, of the City of New York, Merchant."[1]

We now come to the year 1795, when the plague of yellow fever in the city of New York extended to such an alarming degree that hundreds died of it within three months of its first outbreak in the month of July. Among those who were foremost in coping with this dread disease, both in energy and skill, was Samuel Bradhurst; and when the frost of November came to their assistance, the plague subsided, whereupon Governor Jay appointed Thursday, the 26th, for a Thanksgiving Day—a fitting expression of gratitude for the cessation of so fearful a plague, but one which his political opponents criticized as being in excess of his prerogatives. The Presidents of the United States have, nevertheless, revived and perpetuated it by their proclamations from year to year, but how many New Yorkers of the present day, who celebrate the anniversary in a manner scarcely second to Christmas, know aught of its history and origin?

It was during that year that General Maunsell, who was seventy years of age, wished to sell that property on Harlem Heights, between the Morris and Watkins places, which eventually came into the possession of the Bradhurst family, as well as the other portions of his estate. "It is now divided," writes Mr. Van Rensselaer[2] a century later, in 1892, "by the avenue St. Nicholas, then the Kingsbridge Road, and partitioned by avenues and streets, but the following were its advantages as described in the newspaper advertisement, 25th April, 1795: 'A small farm containing about sixty acres, more or less, of excellent land on Haerlem Hill, ten miles from the city. The

[1] This deed bears the signatures of Isaac Stoutenburgh, Philip Van Cortlandt, John Stoutenburgh, and Isaac Stoutenburgh, Junior.

[2] Maunsell Van Rensselaer's mother, Ann Dunkin, was a granddaughter of Mrs. Watkins, one of the six Stillwell sisters; and a niece of Samuel Watkins, Dr. Bradhurst's partner in the firm of Bradhurst & Watkins.

remarkable healthfulness of the situation, and other advantageous circumstances attending it, make it a desirable object for a gentleman who wishes for a country residence which cannot be affected by any contagious disorders. It is particularly well watered and wooded, and has an orchard on it of good fruit.' The General," continues Mr. Van Rensselaer, "was fond of writing letters in which he explained his views at large, and this transaction drew from him one of the most characteristic of them. This was one of his last addressed to his sister, Mrs. Watkins:[1]

"'Being advised by every one of my friends in the city[2] to avail myself of the present unforeseen and unexpected high price of land to exchange Low's small farm, amounting to sixty odd acres, more or less, of land, by selling it to the greatest advantage, and purchase a house in town, an object much to be desired by me, and which, without selling this small farm I could not accomplish for want of sufficiency of Cash—houses being so pleagy dear and beyond my reach. I send you the advertisement I put out for the purpose—peruse it—and when an opportunity offers push on the disposal of it to the best advantage; mention every advantage attending it—viz., the great supply of Salt sedge that can be had on the spot—no flies—or troublesome insect of any kind—the immense quantity of Sedge for manure on it—the benefits this mud receives from the Mills at Kingsbridge—the goodness of the land—its fine prospect—the wood lotts; for there will be no wood in a little time—it is now £5 a load—plenty of water—and notice being on Morris' land—and anything else you may think—for four or five men have been with Mr. S. about it. £75 per acre is the price—I at first asked £83 per acre. It is probable that Col. Smith may think of it; I suspect that he is about it thro' another hand. It would best suit Morris' land on acct: of the water and wood.

"'It is the prettiest farm on the Island. I have a house in view—the price is £7,000—a large sum. We shall go up to Harlem the next week. Read *attentively* the advertisement.'"

About this time, while General Maunsell was arranging the disposal of his remaining property at Harlem, his nephew, Samuel Bradhurst, entered into a lengthy correspondence with Messrs. Ludlow & Goold and others, with reference to his title to a portion of his estate in the same neighbourhood. He, as already stated, had

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[1] His *wife's* sister.

[2] *i.e.* New York.

DEED OF THE MAUNSELL PLACE ("PINEHURST") DATED 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1770, BEARING THE SIGNATURES AND SEAL OF JOHN AND ELIZABETH MAUNSELL

purchased it from George Aitkin, the executor of Charles Aitkin (who had originally bought it of General Maunsell), and now as the daughters of Mr. Charles Aitkin came of age, Dr. Bradhurst sought to obtain their separate confirmation of the transaction. On 1st June he wrote to Mr. George Aitkin:

"Dear Sir,

"As the time is now come when the eldest of the heirs of your brother is of age, agreeable to the notice given me by Mr. E. Goold, I come forward to complete my agreement, and have caused a deed to be written by Rich[d] Harrison Esquire—whom Mr. Goold employed to write our ꝑther writings and agreement; and have delivered them to Mr. Goold to send them forward to you, which, as soon as they are signed, you will send them, and the money will be ready, together with the whole of the Interest. Mr. Harrison informed me (agreeable to the Law of this State) that it is necessary that the young Ladies should go before the Lord Mayor of London[1] and acknowledge; and such acknowledgement, or Proof, certified under his Seal—or, if one of the Witnesses is coming to America, for him to go before the Lord Mayor—&cc—see the Copy herewith sent. My Proportion of any necessary expense I am willing to allow.

"Mrs. Maunsell has her Dower. But she, being an Aunt to my Wife, I shall have no difficulty, as she has not signed it off on the Place. I have had a Law Suit about a part of the Estate & have been beaten. But have removed it to further trial. The Old Deeds of Low to General Maunsell would have been of great service to me. I requested Mr. Goold to write for them. I wish you to send them to me by the first conveyance. I have had a world of trouble & loss with the Estate, not living on it. I have kept a regular Account of the Expenses, & they Amount to nearly £2,600, including the £1,100, having given credit for every thing I have received from the Place—I mention this to show you I have not so cheap a Purchase as I expected—the land very poor—the whole place going to destruction.

"Be so kind as to send me over, or acquaint me where the Old Deed of Mr. Low to Gen[l] Maunsell is—

"Please to have a Copy of the Deed taken, and when the next Heir is of age have it immediately executed and sent—it will save time.

"Mr. Goold will send you the Amount of the Sum as made out by Mr. Harrison, to be incerted in the Deed for your Inspection, which is as follows:—

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[1] The daughters of Mr. Charles Aitkin were in England.

The Principal - - - - - -	£1,100	0	0
8 Times £37 is - - - - -	296	0	0
The 7 years Interest on the £37 is - -	72	9	0
	£1,468	9	0

"If there are three Heirs the one third part of this Sum is to be incerted in the Deed—& the remaining Sum left until the next Heir is of age, at Interest—

"Accept Honoured Sir the best wishes & respect of

"Yours to Command

"SAMUEL BRADHURST."

Before, however, Mr. Bradhurst received a reply to that letter, or General Maunsell could complete the sale of "Low's Farm," an unforeseen event occurred, casting a gloom over the latter's wide circle of relatives and friends. The General passed away 27th July, leaving behind him many tender memories, and a name which has been revered and cherished by his wife's kindred in America and England, as well as by his relations in Ireland. His widow survived him some twenty years, residing at the house which she built at the corner of 157th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, and which is known as "The Maunsell House," but which must not be confused with the "Maunsell Property" (or Pinehurst), acquired by Samuel Bradhurst from the Aitkins heiresses.

In due course Mr. Bradhurst received the Deed signed by "William Moir of Memel, Merchant, and Cornelia Isabella his wife, late Cornelia Isabella Aitkin, spinster, which said Cornelia Isabella Moir is the eldest of the three children and devisees of Charles Aitkin, formerly of the City of New York, gentleman, deceased"; and in acknowledging the receipt of this document to Mr. George Aitkin, Mr. Bradhurst wrote a letter most characteristic of his thoroughness in business detail combined with his extreme sense of fairness and courtesy:

"*New York, November* 21, 1795.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received the Deed, & settled with Mr. Goold; likewise the third of the whole Interest up to Nov:—being 6 months, £12 : 16 : 8; likewise a dividend of the Expenses, viz: £3. The remaining two thirds of the Interest, I think it no more than just should now become Principal, & each Heir kept separate, and the

Interest on the Principal, if you choose, I will pay Annually from the first of November, or half yearly, as may best suit you—or the whole of the back Interest; but the former way I would prefer. That would make it the Interest of Dollars[1] 1268:58 As at 7 per cent per ann:

"There was some little difference between your & Mr. Harrison's calculation, tho he persists he is right—yet, that it may meet your Idea, I scrupel not to pay the whole.

"General Maunsell has died since I wrote to you. Mrs. M. can recover her third, as I informed you she had not signed off—She says the Sale was against her will—But as we are nigh connected I can get her to do it, or at least not to molest me—

"I should be obliged to you to let me know in your next to Mr. Goold, the year & the month the next Heir is of age—as I understood it was some time in the year 1797—that I may be prepared.

"I am Sir, with great respect
"Your friend & Servt
"S. BRADHURST."

During this year the firm of Bradhurst & Watkins was especially prosperous, conducting its business at 314 Pearl Street, whilst Mr. Bradhurst lived principally next door at No. 315, when not visiting his properties at Harlem or in Virginia.

Indeed, so successful was he at this period, that in the same year, 1795, he founded another firm—Bradhurst & Field—at 89 Water Street, entering into partnership with Mr. Josiah Field, a man of considerable ability, whose family, hailing from Yorkshire, had then been settled in America some two centuries.

We have but to consider for a moment the many responsibilities which Samuel Bradhurst undertook and carried through so well in 1795, to realise to some extent the activity and energy of his life. His letters show the minuteness with which he entered into the multifarious details connected with his lands not only in Virginia and on Harlem Heights, but also in regard to his increasing property in the city of New York itself; to this was added the "large business" (which Mr. Barrett refers to in his work) of the firm of Bradhurst and Watkins; the additional strain of another firm—that of Bradhurst and Field; and finally, the outbreak of yellow fever in July (the same month as General Maunsell's death), which demanded so much of his

[1] Hitherto his figures had always been given in £ *s. d.*

attention and skill as a physician. That he took, moreover, an active part in all that concerned the welfare and advancement of his city, and a keen interest in the political questions of the country at large, is also evidenced by his correspondence, etc., about this time.

In 1796 he and Samuel Watkins dissolved partnership, and the latter retired to his country seat, Watkins' Glen; but the firm of Bradhurst & Field continued for many years.

In January, Mr. Aitkin, writing from Copenhagen, to his representative in New York, Mr. Goold, says:

"As my Bond for £2,000 St: Croix Currency lies in the Doctor's (Bradhurst's) hands as security for my procuring him a Title as my Nieces come of age, I should wish to have it wrote off on it, that the Doctor has obtained a Title to one third of the Farm from the eldest daughter. I should be glad to hear from you soon on this subject, & am with respectful compliments to your Lady & Mrs. Beekman, Sir, your most obedient Servant, GEORGE AITKIN."

A copy of this letter was forwarded to Samuel Bradhurst, endorsed by Mr. J. H. Field as being "a true copy." Mr. Bradhurst has left behind him a great number of memoranda as to payments and receipts in regard to this matter, the completion of which was so protracted owing to the minority of the heiresses of the property, and to the delays of communication between New York and Europe. The above letter, for instance, dated from Copenhagen 5th January, was received, says Mr. Bradhurst, on the 2nd April.

He added to his estate at Harlem in May, by the purchase of a Mr. Bussing's land; and in September he sold a large piece of ground in the city—in Chambers Street—and the deed signed by himself and his wife was witnessed by Josiah H. Field and M. H. Field; but the seals opposite the signatures of "Samuel Bradhurst" and "Mary Bradhurst," bearing their Arms, were torn away,—when and by whom does not appear.

He acquired, in 1797, six hundred acres in the "Township of Romulus, in the County of Onandago, late the County of Montgomery," in the State of New York; which had formerly been granted to John de Grote by Letters Patent.

Two years later, in the last year of the Eighteenth century,

Mr. Bradhurst sustained some loss by a fire which broke out on the evening of Tuesday, 6th August, at his house at the corner of Washington and Chambers Streets. The house, fortunately, was not occupied, and the fire was soon extinguished. In the same year he received from London his much-coveted title to another third of his Pinehurst estate, from the second of the three Aitkin heiresses (Mrs. Mudie), this young lady being now of age. On the eve of the new century the United States lost the hero of their Independence; General Washington died 14th December, and Samuel Bradhurst deeply mourned the loss of the General under whom he had served, and who had so generously recognised his services in the grant of the Virginian estate.

About this time Samuel Bradhurst withdrew to his country place on Harlem Heights, making it his chief abode, and devoting much of his time to its improvement, although he still maintained his residence in the city, and his interest in the firm of Bradhurst & Field, which continued to flourish for several years. In 1801 the firm moved from Water Street to 314 Pearl Street, where the firm of Bradhurst and Watkins had formerly been quartered, and number 315 (next door) in the same street continued to be Mr. Bradhurst's town house; for, at that period, there was no "down-town" and "up-town" in New York—like the "City" and "West End" of London; it had not yet developed a series of fashionable streets from which all signs of trade and business are excluded; it was still a comparatively small colonial city, and New Yorkers, whatever their social status, were content to live in close proximity to their employment; and merchants, however wealthy—as wealth was appraised in those days—and lawyers and doctors, however distinguished, lived almost as simply over their offices as shopkeepers over their shops.

There was much correspondence[1] between Mr. Bradhurst at Harlem and Mr. Aitkin with regard to the former's obtaining a good title to his property from the latter's nieces; and in 1802 Mr. Bradhurst wrote:

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[1] These letters, with Samuel Bradhurst's copies of his replies, are now in the possession of his great-grandson, A. M. Bradhurst.

"Honoured Sir,

"It has afforded me singular happiness during the long period in which I have had the honor of knowing and hearing of the respectable rank you stand in in society for uprightness and integrity, to have had my business to transact with you. I cannot but wish for both our sakes it had been more personal; it would have been with regard to our present transactions finished more to our mutual ease. I am informed that a title is not valid (being only a title for life) except the Grantor is arrived at the full age of twenty one. I learned that Mrs. Jane Mudie, the youngest of the three heirs, was not of full age at the time of the signing of the Deed. I informed Mr. Goold when I paid him, (trusting to your honor,) and requested him to inform you of that circumstance, that you might be prepared, and so a final end put to this tedious business. There the matter rests since; now if you will be so obliging as immediately on the receipt of this to get Mrs. Mudie & her husband to sign a new Deed—which I have been anxiously waiting for since that period—the remaining sum with the Interest in full shall be sent, or paid to your order. I wish, and would esteem it a very great favor, if I could obtain one Deed on Vellum with the signatures of All the heirs and their husbands. I would very willingly pay all the expenses attending it. Another favour I must request as indispensable, that they, or one of the subscribing witnesses coming to America, must go before the Lord Mayor of London and acknowledge the Deed, which I trust to your honour to comply with as being essential; it is the opinion of Mr. Harrison. Any commands in my power to serve you or yours will always be faithfully executed by me. Accept of my sincerest thanks for your good wishes; and give me leave to add, it is my sincere wish that every comfort and bliss of the present & future life may be yours."

To this Mr. Aitkin replied:

"I have great pleasure in acknowledging your esteemed favor of Oct: 1st, and think myself highly honor'd by the obliging things you are pleased to say. My chief ambition since I have had transactions in this World has been to maintain as far as possible the Character of an honest man, & hope by the blessing of God to retain the same to my Life's end. I equally regret with you that our transactions should have passed thro' any other hands, as I am convinced the Business between us would have been carried on & completed with more satisfaction to both parties; however I am glad it is now so nigh a Period. I am truly sorry that it is not in my Power to comply with your request in procuring the Titles in the manner you wish, as Mr. & Mrs. Moir are in Denmark, and the others in Scotland, and perhaps I may never have the happiness of meeting them all together; tho' if ever I should have that pleasure, you may rest assured your request shall be complied with. I communicated your sentiments to Mr. Mudie (who is a man

of sense, and understands business), who writes me that he has taken the opinion of a lawyer, as I have done of the Gentleman here who drew the Deeds, and they both concur, that a married woman, tho' not of full age, if she and her husband execute a Deed, especially with the concurrence of her Guardian, it is equally valid as if she was of full age. In regard to the Stamps, Messrs. Goold & Son directed me not to go to that expense, or most certainly the Deeds should have had that Appendage. My own opinion is that your Titles are good in every sense, & as a Proof thereof you may retain my Bond, or, if you choose to take the trouble, you may have any Instrument you judge proper made out binding me to the Amount - - - Say £1,100, to warrant & defend you & your Heirs for ever against any Claim of my late Brother's Heirs on the premises, & I will most readily execute it. Hoping this proposal will meet your approbation, I have subjoined a Statement of Account down to April 6th, 1803, & beg you will remit the same as soon as possible. With sincere wishes for your happiness here and hereafter, I have the Honor to remain, Sir, your most obedient servant."

These letters were, according to the custom then, sealed with wafers and transmitted by the captains of vessels going to and fro between New York and England; and in one corner of the address the name of the captain was written, thus, "Per Captain Webb," "Per Captain Waddell," etc. The latter, it appears, was employed by Mr. Bradhurst, in 1803, to carry on the negotiations with Mr. Aitkin and his nieces; for Mr. Bradhurst was, as a matter of business, quite determined not to allow the matter to drop until he had succeeded in obtaining a sufficiently good title to his Maunsell estate. He wrote:

"My wish is that nothing should be left undone to finish the business in the most complete and ample manner. My friend, Mr. Schieffelin, is so good as to inclose this to you."

Captain Waddell, acting on behalf of Mr. Bradhurst, placed the matter in the hands of Mr. Richard Grant, of London, to whom he writes:

"With respect to the business of my friend, Doctor Bradhurst of New York, the documents of which are lodged with you,—can only request that you will have the goodness to expedite the affair, and advise him accordingly. For the means of payments appertaining hereto, I have placed in the hands of Mr. Effingham Lawrence, Merchant, Tower Hill, Sixty pounds sterling, subject to your order. Should there be any money left after paying all charges, or any further sum requisite, please to advise Doctor Bradhurst of the same."

Captain Waddell also furnished Mr. Bradhurst with an account of expenses incurred from June, 1803, to the following March, from which it seems that the completion of this "tedious business," as Samuel Bradhurst called it, was further delayed by the marriage of the youngest of the Misses Aitkin to a Mr. Ford, and the consequent necessity of having new documents drawn up in her married name.

Mr. Bradhurst's anxiety to make good beyond all doubt his title to the estate of Maunsell Place—or Pinehurst, as it was afterwards called—was in all probability due in a great measure to his foreseeing to some extent the value to which such a property must eventually rise, situated within a few miles of a growing island city, and extending across the whole breadth of that island. With judicious care he was continually improving and adding to it; but in the midst of his increasing prosperity there was a great sorrow always before him, defying all his skill as a physician, and all the medical science which he could summon: his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was paralysed, and depended entirely on her devoted and strong young brother, John Maunsell Bradhurst, to carry her from room to room. According to the newspapers of the day she was as much admired for her beauty and accomplishments as she was pitied for her affliction. Her great-aunt, General Maunsell's widow—after whom she was named—spent many hours beside the fair young invalid, who finally was released from her sufferings at her father's country seat on the morning of 13th October, 1802. She was interred at Harlem Heights in the family vault where General Maunsell had been laid, and which then belonged to Mrs. Maunsell, but their remains now rest in Trinity Cemetery where, subsequently, so many of her name have been placed, that the old vault, facing the river, is now known by the name —carved in large letters over the entrance to their last resting-place— "Bradhurst."

Two years later we find Samuel Bradhurst drawn into the political whirlpool, which, at that time, absorbed the attention of all classes, and was carried on so keenly that even men of note allowed their party differences to verge upon the brink of personal animosity. In the twenty-seventh session of the New York State Legislature, which was opened on 31st January, 1804, Mr. Bradhurst was a member for

the City and County of New York.[1] It may not be amiss here to note the names of the other members for that County in the same session; these were:

George Clinton, junior	William Few
Peter Curtenius	Henry Rutgers
P. A. Schenck	Solomon Townsend
James Warner	P. H. Wendover

Speaker: Alexander Sheldon
Clerk: Solomon Southwick
Serjeant-at-Arms: Benjamin Haight
Doorkeeper: Benjamin Whipple

This session was not of long duration, and Mr. Bradhurst took no other very active part in politics, but it is possible that his election to the Legislature may have accentuated the breach between him and Burr, of which an account will be given in the ensuing chapter.

Deeply, however, as Mr. Bradhurst was interested in the political crises of the day, he did not flag in his attention to the details of business. In that same year, 1804, he had some further correspondence with Mr. Aitkin, and his lawyers in London; and, in one of his letters, he says:

"I did myself the honour of writing to you by Mr. Ogden of this City, before I received yours. I confess I was much disappointed when I found you had been led into an error by your Counsel, who has given us both unnecessary trouble. I regret as much on your account, who have already had too much, as on my own; as we both wish to have for ourselves, and to leave behind us, as little as possible to those who are to succeed us. It being indispensably necessary in order to put the deeds on record, that the Lady must be of full age of 21; and, if she is married, to go before the Lord Major, or some Magistrate of that rank, as the Law directs, in the place where she may be,—I have written to my friend[2] in London, that you may have as little trouble as possible, who will get a proper person to do the writing; and when finished, will pay you the balance and every expense that will happen in completing our business, both in sending the Deeds to Denmark and to Scotland for execution."

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[1] New York Historical Society's Collection, published 1885. Assemblies of New York State.

[2] This friend was Mr. Richard Grant, of Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, London.

The expenses here referred to amounted to £80, as appears from Captain Waddell's account; and finally, in this year, this lengthy correspondence was brought to a conclusion by Mr. Bradhurst's obtaining the Title Deeds for which he had written with such patient and courteous pertinacity. His first transaction with regard to his purchase of this property—originally part of General Maunsell's estate—had, it will be remembered, been commenced in 1787, the year in which his guardian, Miss Cornelia Norwood, died making him one of her heirs. For seventeen years, therefore, he had waited for the deeds which he now obtained; and as each of Charles Aitkin's daughters came of age, he had renewed his application for a document to his own satisfaction. The quiet, persistent determination which he displayed in this matter was characteristic of him, as it also is of some of his descendants.

Of these three deeds which he received from the nieces of George Aitkin and their husbands, that of Mr. and Mrs. Mudie bears the seal and signature of the Provost of Dundee,[1] in Scotland; whilst those of Mr. and Mrs. Moir, and of Mr. and Mrs. Ford, bear the seal of the Lord Mayor of London.[2]

At the same time that he received the deeds, Mr. Bradhurst also received a copy of the Will, dated 1786, of Charles Aitkin and of Cornelia, his wife; but, interesting as this document is on account of its quaint expressions, it scarcely belongs to our present subject.

There is one curious fact in regard to the three deeds: they each bear a note in pencil to the effect that they were left with Samuel Bradhurst "*by — Burr Esquire.*" The name of Burr here brings us in touch with another side of Mr. Bradhurst's life and character, and we cease for a moment from considering his persistence in his transactions as a man of business, to discover the keenness with which he entered into questions of the day, so that now—at the age of fifty-five—he still possessed that spirit with which a quarter of a century before he had distinguished himself in the service of his country.

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[1] "John Guild Esquire, Provost & Chief Magistrate of Dundee."

[2] "John Perring Esquire, Lord Mayor of the City of London." These title-deeds of Pinehurst are all in the possession of Samuel Bradhurst's great-grandson, A. M. Bradhurst.

CHAPTER VI

THE DUEL

The name of Burr carries us back from the hard-headed merchant to the romantic courtship of the young American prisoner.

It would be rash to assume that it was the notorious Colonel Burr who delivered the Pinehurst, or Maunsell, deeds to Mr. Bradhurst; the more especially as a coolness had arisen between them owing to the unhappiness of Mrs. Burr, whose kindness in former years—when she was Mrs. Prevost—to Samuel Bradhurst and his *fiancée* had never been forgotten.

Mrs. Burr's sons, Frederick Prevost of Pelham, and the Honourable John Bartow Prevost had grown to be men of good position, and the drama in which their step-father's public career terminated had not yet been enacted. Her only child by Colonel Burr, Theodosia, had been married three years to Joseph Alston, Governor of South Carolina,[1] and was the mother of a little two-year-old boy, Aaron Burr Alston, named after his grandfather.

The estrangement between Mrs. Bradhurst and her cousin was no doubt rendered the more acute by their former affectionate intimacy, and by the fact that Mr. Bradhurst was an ardent admirer and friend of Colonel Burr's political rival, Alexander Hamilton. Party feeling ran high at that period, and was not infrequently followed by personal animosity. Hamilton has been called *the* greatest man of his age, not even excepting Napoleon:

"Je considère Napoleon, Fox,[2] et Hamilton comme les trois plus grands hommes de notre époque, et si je devais me prononcer entre les trois, je donnerais sans hesiter la première place à Hamilton. Il avait deviné l'Europe."[3]

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[1] Theodosia Burr married Governor Alston in 1801.

[2] The Hon. Charles James Fox was an uncle of that Lord Holland who married Mrs. Bradhurst's cousin, Elizabeth Vassall.

[3] Talleyrand, *Études sur la République*.

General Hamilton's noble character and public life, however, need not be dwelt upon here; nor need we enter into the details of Burr's unscrupulous intrigues, his tie for election to the Presidency of the United States, his Vice-Presidency, and his bitter enmity against that General, as a politician. The story belongs to the history of the early years of American Independence, and the opening of the Eighteenth century in the United States. The *Life of Hamilton* has been written more than once, and the *Life of Aaron Burr* was published in 1864.

Briefly, however, we may glance at some of the events which led not only to the historical duel between Hamilton and Burr, but also to the latter's less famous quarrel with Samuel Bradhurst.

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, there were two parties in the State of New York,—the Whigs and Tories; and the Whigs became subdivided. As early as the year 1777 General Schuyler and Mr. George Clinton had been the leaders of opposite factions. Among the former's supporters were his son-in-law, Alexander Hamilton—a distinguished soldier and Washington's private secretary, friend, and aide-de-camp—and "many of the oldest and most influential families of the Colonial era—the Jays, the Livingstons, the Van Rensselaers, the Bradhursts, the Bensons, the Varicks." These Tories were subsequently called the Federals; and it was about 1784—not very long after his marriage to Mrs. Prevost—that Aaron Burr began to assume a prominent position in the Whig or anti-Federal party led by Clinton. Burr's rise was rapid: he was elected to represent the City and County of New York in the Legislature; in 1789 he was appointed Attorney-General of the State; two years later he was elected a Senator of the United States; and afterwards chosen Judge of the Supreme Court; and then elected to be not only a Member, but the President of the Convention which was called to revise the Constitution of the State. But General Maunsell, who had previously thought so highly of him when commending Mrs. Watkins to his care, had already had reason to change his opinion of him, for in a letter addressed to Miss Watkins the General says:

"Liddy tells me that Mr. Burr expects a seat in congress, and that he has taken *Big* Symmons's house in Wall Street. As I shall never more have any intercourse with him, or his family, his changes in life

give me no concern, or pleasure; he is no friend to your house. . . . I do not think that Mr. Burr will be sent to Congress. You will perceive that he will act just as he did respecting the Assembly; he declined in print—before he was chosen—a pritty mode of manifesting confidence in success, which he was not sure of."

In 1800 Aaron Burr entered upon that now historical struggle with Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, for the honour of being third President of the United States. It was then that Hamilton—suspecting Burr's treachery and capability of disrupting the Union—raised his warning voice—not in order to gain office for himself—for "with everything within his reach, Hamilton had deliberately turned aside from public life"—but because the Union for which he had sacrificed so much was dearer to him than life.

Hamilton's warning failed; but Aaron Burr did not forget it. The result of the election was that John Jay had the least number of votes, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney had sixty-four, Adams sixty-five, and Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three. An eminent authority has said that, "Federalists were plainly told that if Aaron Burr were made President, the Republicans would arm, march to Washington, depose the usurper, and put Jefferson in his place."

Passing over the details of this celebrated struggle, and of the intense public excitement, it is sufficient here to say that the final election made Jefferson President, and Burr Vice-President of the United States. The last-named, however, had no sooner attained this dignity than his popularity even among his own supporters, and his influence even in his own party, flickered and went out—never to be again rekindled.

At the next nomination for the offices of President and Vice-President—and this brings us back to the year 1804, in which Samuel Bradhurst was a member of the Legislature, and in which he received the deeds "left by — Burr Esquire"[1]—Mr. Burr was not even mentioned for either honour.

Determined to retrieve his *prestige*, and perhaps, too, to test his

[1] Probably about the month of May, as the deeds were signed in England and Scotland in the first week of April.

influence, he turned his attention, now that national politics failed him, to securing a nomination for the governorship of New York, the election to which was not far off. But even his own party failed him; so, without scruple, he courted the nomination of the Federalists, but in vain! In desperation he set up as an independent candidate, and whatever support he might have gained was turned from him by the renewed warning of General Hamilton.

Defeated, humiliated, of an ungovernable temper, Burr seems now to have been bent not only on revenge, but on removing from the path of his ambition the man who read him all too clearly.

In a published journal Mr. Burr read that General Hamilton had expressed a despicable opinion of him, and on the 17th June, 1804, he sent it to the General, demanding "a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant the assertions." Hamilton replied to the effect that the charge was vague, but that if he were charged with any definite observations he would be prepared to avow or deny them as the case might be. He would have done so frankly and truly.

Burr declined to enter into any explanation, or to accuse Hamilton of any specific statement. He merely wrote again, insisting upon a general disavowal of any expression from which anything offensive might be inferred, and he added that General Hamilton's reply to his previous letter was evasive. After the exchange of several epistles and interviews with their respective friends, Burr sent a challenge, and the inevitable duel was arranged to take place on 11th July.

In the prolonged interval before that fatal date, Hamilton devoted his attention to the settlement of his affairs for the advantage of his wife and children and creditors. He made his will, and in it, besides expressing his disapproval of duelling, says: "I am conscious of no ill-will to Colonel Burr distinct from political opposition." Burr is said to have spent the interval in destroying the evidences of his numerous *liaisons*, and in improving himself as a pistol-shot.

Whispers of the coming encounter were soon abroad; and one of the first to hear of it was Samuel Bradhurst, who, by reason of his affection for Hamilton, and his connection by marriage to Burr, felt himself in a position to attempt privately the task of reconciliation.

His interview with the latter[1] can be well imagined, and it is easy to picture the galling cynicism with which Mr. Bradhurst would be received by Aaron Burr after years of estrangement. The cutting and caustic speeches which Burr was wont to make are well known; and one can readily understand that Mr. Bradhurst felt something more than disappointment at the failure of his good endeavours, when he heard the tone in which his remarks were answered. High words were exchanged, and Mr. Bradhurst departed smarting at the words to which he had been subjected.

Which of the two offered the challenge does not seem to be known, but Mr. Bradhurst is said to have entertained some idea that by hastening this meeting the engagement with Alexander Hamilton might be averted; and this no doubt would have been the case had Burr been seriously hurt, or had Bradhurst fallen and thus occasioned Burr's flight before that other appointment could be kept.

With this view—to save his noble friend—Mr. Bradhurst allowed no time to be wasted in preliminaries; and the Bradhurst-Burr duel was consequently arranged with a secrecy and haste which even exceeded that of the arrangements for the Hamilton-Burr meeting. Indeed, so secretly and unobtrusively did Samuel Bradhurst conduct the matter, that the date, the scene, and the names of the seconds are all unknown. Even his wife—according to tradition[2]—knew of nothing more than that there had been a serious quarrel, when her husband returned home one morning with a sword-wound, which he made light of, in the arm or shoulder. It has been said (but the details seem impossible to substantiate at this late date) that Mr. Bradhurst used the sword of his uncle, General Maunsell, in this encounter; but, if so, he must have borrowed it, for Mrs. Maunsell was then living, and the General's sword and portrait did not come into the possession of the Bradhursts until a later date.

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[1] Burr's mansion was at Richmond Hill (near the corner of the subsequent Charlton and Varick Streets), and the hill and pond were afterwards called "Burr's Hill" and "Burr's Pond."

[2] Mr. Bradhurst told the story, in confidence, to his son, John Maunsell Bradhurst, who with the late John McKesson (stepson of Samuel Bradhurst's daughter) repeated some of it to the late Henry Maunsell Bradhurst and to a cousin.

Mr. Bradhurst appears to have had the greatest reluctance to discuss this matter, and there only remains to add that Colonel Burr escaped unscathed, and waited for his next victim. We may assume, however, that both duels were fought on the same celebrated ground —the famous duelling-ground—the recognised spot for such affairs in New York, called the Weehawken Duelling-ground, situated on the bank of the Hudson, on the Jersey shore, two or three miles above the Hoboken Ferry. "It was a grassy ledge, or shelf, about twenty feet above the water, and only sufficiently large for the fatal encounters that frequently occurred there in the old duelling days, being about two yards wide by twelve in length. From this celebrated spot there was a natural and almost regular flight of steps to the edge of the rocky shore where a landing was effected. This singularly isolated and secluded spot was reached by small boats, being inaccessible to foot-passengers along the shore, except at very low tide. . . . It was to this spot that the fiery Tybalts resorted for the settlement of difficulties according to the 'code of honor' prevailing at the beginning of the Nineteenth century. These single combats were, chiefly by reason of the inflamed state of political feeling, of frequent occurrence, and very seldom ending without bloodshed."[1]

It is not within the limits of our present subject to give all the particulars of the famous Burr-Hamilton duel, nor to enter into the arguments, more or less partial, for and against the assertion that Hamilton intentionally merely fired in the air. When Mrs. Bradhurst informed her husband of the fatal result, he, we are told, was greatly moved. Of all the throngs who attended the public funeral with which Hamilton was honoured, of all the thousands who mourned his loss, none were more deeply grieved than Samuel Bradhurst, the friend who had so nobly and unostentatiously risked his life in order to avert this national catastrophe.

Hamilton died of his wound 12th July, the day after the duel, having received the last Sacrament from Bishop Moore, whose wife (*née* Miss Charity Clarke) was a sister of the Ladies Barrington and Affleck, and a first cousin of both Mrs. Bradhurst and of Aaron Burr's wife.

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[1] James Grant Wilson's *History of New York.*

However partially the admirers of Hamilton may have enlarged upon the misdeeds of Burr, it is noteworthy that Burr had alienated three of the most upright and distinguished men with whom he was connected by marriage: the opinion which his wife's uncle, General Maunsell, had of him, has already been quoted; whilst Samuel Bradhurst crossed swords with him in deadly combat, and Bishop Moore hastened to administer the consolations of the Church at the bedside of his illustrious victim, whose burial service the Bishop also conducted.

On 13th July Burr wrote to his son-in-law, Joseph Alston:

"General Hamilton died yesterday. The malignant federalists or tories, unite in endeavouring to excite public sympathy in his favor and indignation against his antagonist. Thousands of absurd rumours are circulated with industry. The most illiberal means are practised in order to produce excitement, and for the moment with effect.

"I propose leaving town for a few days, and meditate also a journey for some weeks, but whither is not resolved. Perhaps to Statesburgh. You will hear from me again in about eight days.

"A. BURR."

The letter is characteristic of the man. Well might he "meditate also a journey for some weeks," for he was indicted for murder and fled from New York. Three years later, in 1807 (he survived General Hamilton thirty-two years), he was tried for mysterious and traitorous schemes, including a Mexican or Central American Empire, but the verdict was "not proven." Able and capable as he was dangerous and detested, he wandered about Europe for years in the direst poverty. In France Napoleon frowned on him; and in his diary, 23rd November, 1810, is the entry: "Nothing from America, and really I shall starve. Borrowed three francs to-day." And in December he had sunk yet lower: "When at Denon's, thought I might as well go to St. Pelasgie; set off, but recollected I owed the woman who sits in the passage two sous for a cigar, so turned about to pursue my way by the Pont des Arts, which was within fifty paces; remembered I had not wherewith to pay the toll, being one sou; had to go all the way round by the Pont Royal, more than half a mile." In Holland Burr vainly applied to Mr. Holsman for a passage from

Amsterdam to the United States by one of the ships belonging to the respected firm of Coster Brothers.

With regard to Burr's ability both as a lawyer and politician it is sufficient here to observe that he had, in former years, been associated at the Bar with Hamilton,[1] and that the latter so feared his unscrupulous genius in public affairs, that he even peferred to support a man of the opposite faction, rather than see Burr attain any power as one of his own party. That Burr had friends, and staunch ones too, is clear from the conduct of the brothers Swartwout—well known in New York—of whom, on Burr's account, John fought a duel at Weehawken with De Witt Clinton, and Samuel Swartwout—Burr's private secretary—challenged General Wilkinson. The lasting devotion of Burr and his daughter to each other is a pleasant oasis in a life full of intrigue and tragedy. She was one of the most noted women in society, distinguished for her accomplishments and sparkling wit; her mysterious loss was of all the calamities which overtook her father, the one he felt most acutely. On his return to New York, she started from Charleston to meet him in a little sailing-vessel, taking her only child, Aaron Burr Alston, a boy about ten years old, with her; but the ship was never again heard of, and she and her son were generally supposed to have fallen into the hands of certain pirates. Some ten years after that, in 1822, Burr was travelling in a boat on the Hudson, when a lady entering the dining saloon, on suddenly perceiving him, uttered a shriek and fainted. That lady was General Hamilton's widow; she refused to remain on a boat bearing her "husband's murderer," and the object of her horror continued his dinner composedly. Indeed, his unruffled calmness at times, and his sarcastic sneers, added largely, no doubt, to his unpopularity, and changed Mr. Bradhurst's conduct from that of a mediator to that of an antagonist. Even to the daughter he so idolised Colonel Burr could not refrain from writing in this vein; for, in telling her of the death of Philip Hamilton—the General's son—which occurred two years before his father's, he wrote:

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[1] Burr and Hamilton were the successful counsel for Le Guin in the lawsuit in which many great lawyers were engaged, wherein Messrs. Gouverneur & Kemble were defeated.

THEODOSIA BURR,
Daughter of Aaron Burr, and wife of Joseph Alston,
Governor of South Carolina

"You have learned from the newspapers (which you never read) the death of Philip Hamilton. Shot in a duel with Eacker, the lawyer. Some dispute at a theatre, arising, as is said, out of politics. The story is variously related;—will give you a concise summary of the facts, in fifteen sheets of paper, with comments, and moral and sentimental reflections. To this I take the liberty of referring you."

Eventually Burr married that remarkable and eccentric character, Madame Jumel, a union which was soon dissolved. She was the owner of old Morris House—near Watkins and Maunsell Places—on Harlem Heights, which had formerly been General Washington's headquarters. With what bitterness must Burr—now degraded, shunned, and ruined—during his brief sojourn there, have viewed that neighbourhood whither, in by-gone years (on the recommendation of General Maunsell), he had come to advise Mrs. Watkins, in the character of an honoured, trusted, and respected man!

Aaron Burr died at the Port Richmond Hotel, Staten Island, on the 13th September, 1836, in the eighty-first year of his age, having, since the previous June, received constant visits from the Rev. Dr. P. J. Vanpelt, whom he joined in prayer. His funeral took place in the chapel of Princeton College, New Jersey—of which his father, the Rev. Aaron Burr, had been President—and his remains were there interred with those of his relatives.

Before dismissing him from these pages, we may call to mind the love which Burr inspired (just before the Hamilton duel) in the breast of Madame "Leonora," a writer of most charming and entertaining letters, and also the impression which he made, when a young and gallant Major, on the heart of Margaret Moncrieffe,[1] a young lady of no more than fifteen summers; whose conduct as a British spy, whilst enjoying the hospitality and protection of General Putnam, was discovered and proclaimed by the object of her youthful affections, with the result that the plot to capture General Washington was frustrated, and Miss Moncrieffe was removed to safer quarters, and Aaron Burr was lost to her for ever.

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[1] *Margaret Moncrieffe, the first Love of Aaron Burr*, an historical novel, by Charles Burdett.

CHAPTER VII

HIS DECLINING YEARS

Among Samuel Bradhurst's papers, dated 1805, reminding us once more of the tragic events of the previous year, there is a survey of land—some seventeen acres—which he had sold to General Hamilton, lying between the old Bloomingdale Road and the Kingsbridge or Albany Post Road.

On the night of the 7th February, 1806, the premises of the firm of Bradhurst and Field, at the corner of Peck Slip and Pearl Street, were entirely destroyed by fire, together with almost all their contents; the cause, it is said, having been the bursting of a bottle of ether. By this fire the firm lost the considerable sum (especially in those days) of thirty thousand dollars,[1] of which two thousand seven hundred[2] were in bank notes. Of the few papers, however, snatched from the flames there yet remained some, blackened and partly burned, relating to the business matters and funeral of George Ferdinand Toderhorst, a cousin of Mr. Wilmerding, whose eldest daughter was about this time betrothed to John Maunsell Bradhurst.

The fire was followed, three weeks later (1st March), by another and greater misfortune in the death of Mr. Bradhurst's friend and partner, Josiah H. Field.

On the 19th of April Mr. Bradhurst's eldest surviving daughter, Maria Theresa, was married to Henry Hamilton Schieffelin, son of Jacob Schieffelin by Hannah, daughter of John Lawrence, of a well-known New York family. The Schieffelins, who were of Swiss extraction, had emigrated early in the Eighteenth century, about which time they had changed the spelling of their name from Scheûffelin, as appears from their Family Bible which dates from 1650.[3] Young

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[1] £6,000. [2] £540.

[3] *America Heraldica; Genealogical Notes; Histoire des Familles Génévoises; The Old Merchants of New York*, etc.

Henry Hamilton Schieffelin had had the advantage of studying law under Cadwallader Colden, and of travelling with him through Europe —an unusual advantage for an American in those days—and of being in Paris when Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor. The year before his marriage a newspaper of 3rd July announced that:—

"*Warren Brackett and Henry H. Schieffelin, attorney-at-law, have entered into co-partnership in the law business under the firm of Brackett and Schieffelin, and have opened their office at 193 Pearl Street.*"

It is said that before paying his addresses to Miss Bradhurst, Mr. Schieffelin had asked her mother for the hand of the younger daughter, Catherine, but Mrs. Bradhurst replied discouragingly, "My *oldest* daughter must be married first, Mr. Schieffelin," whereupon the young man, nothing daunted, turned his attentions to Maria Theresa with more success. Their marriage was celebrated by Bishop Moore, whose wife was a cousin of Mrs. Bradhurst.[1]

A week later the Bishop again officiated at another family wedding of no less interest. On 26th April, 1806, Samuel Bradhurst's son, John Maunsell Bradhurst, married Miss Elizabeth Wilmerding, the eldest of the five clever and accomplished daughters of Mr. Christian William Wilmerding, who had come to America some years previously from Brunswick, where his ancestors had ranked for several generations amongst the most influential families in that Grand-Duchy. His wife was of the noble House von Falkenhan; and it was through his mother, *née* Christine Toder Horst, that he was related to that Mr. George Ferdinand Toderhorst, whose papers were rescued from the fire at the premises of Messrs. Bradhurst and Field.

The marriage of the young heir to the estate was celebrated at Pinehurst (or Maunsell Place) amid great rejoicings. Mrs. Maunsell was still living, and helped her niece and Samuel Bradhurst to receive with old-time hospitality the various relations who came from all sides —the Wilmerdings, the Schieffelins, the Stillwells, the Smiths, the *Clarkes* and the *Clarks*,[2] the Moores, the Watkinses, the Beekmans,

[1] The Bishop had also officiated at the christening of Maria Theresa Bradhurst, twenty years previously.

[2] Mrs. Bradhurst's aunt, Mary Stillwell, married Colonel Thomas *Clarke*, an English officer; but Mrs. Bradhurst's sister, Catherine Smith, married John *Clark*, of New York.

and the Dunkins—who all came rumbling along the country roads in their old-fashioned coaches from the country round about, and from the city itself, to make merry in the old colonial house, whither streets and avenues had not yet penetrated. There the portrait of General John Maunsell still hung, looking down on many a face once familiar to him, who, with others—listening to the memories which that portrait recalled—were all assembled to do honour to the marriage festivities of his name-sake.

In 1807, Samuel Bradhurst changed his town residence to the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street;[1] and in the next year there is a note in his MS. to the effect that he had "moved to the City for the winter—November, 1808," and that his youngest daughter, Catherine Ann, had gone to the "Springs and Falls of Niagara."

This lady married (firstly) Mr. John McKesson,[2] "counsellor-at-law," a widower with three children, one of whom was the late John McKesson, so well known in New York. Her hand had been vainly sought, not only by her brother-in-law, Henry Hamilton Schieffelin, but also by the gallant and victorious Commander Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, whose suit her father would not countenance on the ground that he refused to sanction the marriage of a daughter of his with a naval officer, whose duties must cause long periods of absence.

She eventually married (secondly) Mr. Hickson W. Field, a brother of her father's partner, Josiah Field. Mr. Hickson Field had been, in January, 1813, one of the seventy much-esteemed "Iron Grays,"[3] which was one of those volunteer companies formed, at that critical time, for the defence of the City and harbour of New York. Mrs. Field had no issue by either marriage; but by the latter she became the stepmother of the late H. W. Field,[4] junior, of the Palazzo

[1] This was 366 Broadway.

[2] John McKesson, senior, and Samuel Bradhurst were friends of long standing; and the above marriage was but one of many links in the chain of attachment uniting the families. His son, the *late* John McKesson (whose stepmother was Catherine Bradhurst), was the father-in-law of the late Hugh N. Camp, of New York, between whose family and the Bradhursts this old chain of friendship continues in the present generation to be not only unbroken but strengthened by time.

[3] The "Iron Grays" were commanded by Captain Samuel Swartwout.

[4] The late H. W. Field married his stepmother's niece, Mary, the only daughter of John Maunsell Bradhurst. Their daughter is the Princess Triggiano-Brancaccio.

della Sette Sale, Rome; and of Eleanor Field who married that distinguished United States Minister, Mr. John Jay.[1]

After the marriages of his children, Samuel Bradhurst appears to have taken a less active part in the events of the day; and his declining years seem to have been passed in peace and affluence. He lived to see many changes; brought up and educated during the Colonial era, an officer in the War of Independence, a staunch supporter of Hamilton in those early political struggles, an eminent physician, an upright man of business, and honourable in all things. As the years went by he saw many links with the past severed; among these was the death of Mrs. Maunsell, which occurred in 1815. The following year he made his Will; but he and his wife, combining some of the old toryism of their youth with some of the new ideas which were opposed to the institution of hereditary estates to the detriment of younger children, sold a considerable portion of their estates for the sum of forty thousand dollars—about one third or fourth of the value—to their son, in order that they might not appear unjust to their daughters by bequeathing to him the lands to which they wished him to succeed. And, in addition to this, on 3rd March, 1820, they gave him that property which they possessed in the "Ninth Ward" of the City of New York—"for and in consideration of the natural love and affection which they have and bear unto the said Party of the second part, their son, and for the better maintenance and livelihood of him"—which property was "bounded Westerly by the Hudson's River, Northerly by the lands now or late of Elizabeth Maunsell; Easterly in part by a Branch of Harlaem Creek, and partly by land now or late of John Kortwright; Southerly in part by land now or late of Jacob Schieffelin, and partly by the Bloomingdale and Kingsbridge Roads, Containing one hundred Acres be the same more or less; And also all that certain other Tract, piece or parcel of land, situate in the Ward aforesaid, and near Fort Washington, on the East side of the Kingsbridge Road."[2]

Samuel Bradhurst was a generous donor to the several religious

[1] One of his daughters, Miss Mary Jay, married William Henry Schieffelin, a grandson of H. H. Schieffelin by Maria Theresa Bradhurst.

[2] The Original Deed is now in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

and philanthropic institutions of New York, as appears from the numerous acknowledgments which he received from them. He was likewise an ardent theologian, and wrote some treatises on different theories and doctrines. He also wrote two MSS. entitled "The Events and Ages of my Family," from which many of the dates, etc., herein have been gleaned.

On the survey of the land which he sold to General Hamilton, Mr. Bradhurst wrote:—"Two surveys of land I sold to General Hamilton—may be of use if preserved by ——." No name fills in the blank. Little he thought how many years this and his other documents might be "preserved," or through what foreign countries, or with what interest they would be read, and with what pleasure transmitted, as in these pages, for the perusal of his descendants and relatives!

Of all the tales and anecdotes of his eventful life none bear such witness to his honour as this: there came to him one evening one whom he had always counted among his friends, and, after discussing the extensive improvements then taking place in the growing city, told Samuel Bradhurst of the enormous taxation to which he would be liable on certain property. "Is that so?" exclaimed Mr. Bradhurst impulsively. "Then I will take — thousand dollars for it, if any one will offer it."

"I will!" promptly said the visitor.

Mrs. Bradhurst, who was present, expostulated.

"*I have given my word*," replied her husband.

"He *said* he would!" emphasised the eager purchaser.

"I know what I have said, and you know my word is as good as my bond," said Mr. Bradhurst, showing him the door.

It need hardly be added that the story of the increased taxation was a falsehood, and that the property was worth much more than the sum for which the cheat—for he was nothing less—thus obtained it.[1]

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[1] I have been told that the property here referred to was on Broadway, that the sum for which it was thus sold was about forty thousand dollars, and that its value at that time was about sixty thousand dollars; and that one of Samuel Bradhurst's greatest foibles—one which his son inherited—was his intense objection to paying taxes. A. M. B.

The following extracts from one of Mr. Bradhurst's MSS. may be of special interest to the children and grandchildren of those whose births are referred to by him:

"2nd daughter, Maria Theresa . . . she married Henry H. Schieffelin . . . 19th April, 1806—they have now five children, four boys and one girl[1]—good and very promising."

"And our son, J. M Bradhurst, . . . married Eliza, daughter of Mr. William Wilmerding . . . by our Kinsman, B. Moore, 26: April 1806 at Haarlem Heights."

"3rd daughter, Caty Ann, was born in New York; was married to John McKesson, Attorney and Counsellor-at-law, New York—a widower and three children."

"On 29: April 1814, my grandson, Samuel Bradhurst, son of my son, died of the measles; buried in the family Vault of Mr. John Clark,[2] Senior, in Trinity Church Yard."

"His" (John Maunsell Bradhurst's) "second son, named Samuel, born September 19: 1810. Baptised by the Minister of the German Lutheran Church (of which his wife is a member)—named S. Stillwell.

"Note—my daughter Schieffelin had a daughter born January 21st 1807."

"My son, his first child a son, Samuel—September 16th 1807;—2nd son, September 19: 1810."

"Our daughter, Schieffelin, of a son, Henry Maunsell—August 7th 1808;—3rd son died 3rd day—1810."

In another and (apparently) earlier MS. is the statement:

"Our second daughter, Maria Theresa, was born on Sunday January 24th 1786. Baptized by Reverend B. Moore. Our daughter, Catherine Ann, was born on Saturday 12th December 1787. Baptized by Reverend J. Rogers."

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[1] I have been asked the date of this MS. and I think that the above remark clearly places it between the births of Mrs. H. H. Schieffelin's fourth and fifth sons, but we must not omit to count as her third son the one who died in infancy in 1810. It would appear, therefore, that this MS. was written between the dates of the births of James Lawrence Schieffelin and of his brother, Philip. A. M. B.

[2] Mr. John Clark married Mrs. Bradhurst's sister, Catherine Smith.

By a Will, dated 21st February, 1816, Samuel Bradhurst bequeathed to his wife, Mary, all his interest in her "dower," and in the sum which she had inherited from her aunt, Mrs. Maunsell, and to this he added the income and rents derived from his property in Murray Street; two houses in Greenwich Street; one house on the corner of Reade and Washington Streets; another at the corner of Washington and Chambers Streets; and also certain securities, bonds, and stocks, etc., and as much of the furniture and other articles in his mansion as she might wish to have. To his son, John Maunsell, he bequeathed the Pinehurst, or Maunsell, estate, including the mansion and all other houses and buildings thereon, and the live stock, "cattle, and farming utensils." But it was subsequent to the date of this Will that he gave and (nominally) sold the greater part of that estate to his son, as well as the Virginian property. He also left to his son some valuable property on Broadway, and all his Latin, Greek, and medical books, and his "large family Bible."[1] To his daughters, Maria Theresa Schieffelin and Catherine Ann McKesson, Mr. Bradhurst bequeathed the income, for their lives, arising from the greater part of his property on Broadway, and from some land situated at the corner of Walnut and Cherry Streets, with remainder to their children. To his seven elder grandchildren (born before the date of the Will) Mr. Bradhurst left legacies to accumulate until their coming of age; these grandchildren were: Henry Maunsell Schieffelin, Samuel Bradhurst Schieffelin, James Lawrence Schieffelin, Philip Schieffelin, Maria Theresa Schieffelin, Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst, and William Wilmerding Bradhurst. He also left property in Mercer Street, valued at £1,200, to the College established at New Brunswick, in New Jersey, for the "Education of poor, pious, young men of approved good parts and industry, for the Ministry in the Dutch Church so-called," on condition that one-third of the interest be annually added to the principal. The considerable remainder of his valuable property he left to his wife, with power to dispose of all that she acquired from his estate to their descendants in such proportions, and on such conditions, etc., as she might think

[1] This Bible, published in 1715, bound in a quaint cover of wood and stamped leather, is now in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

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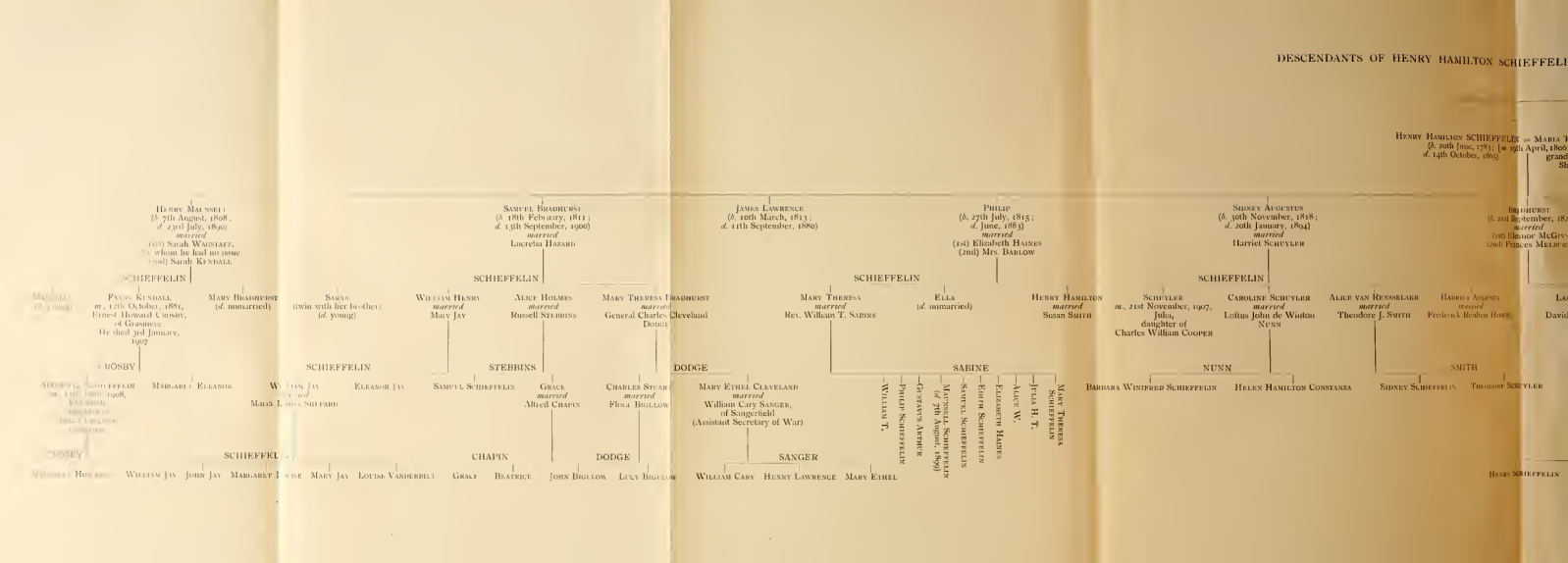
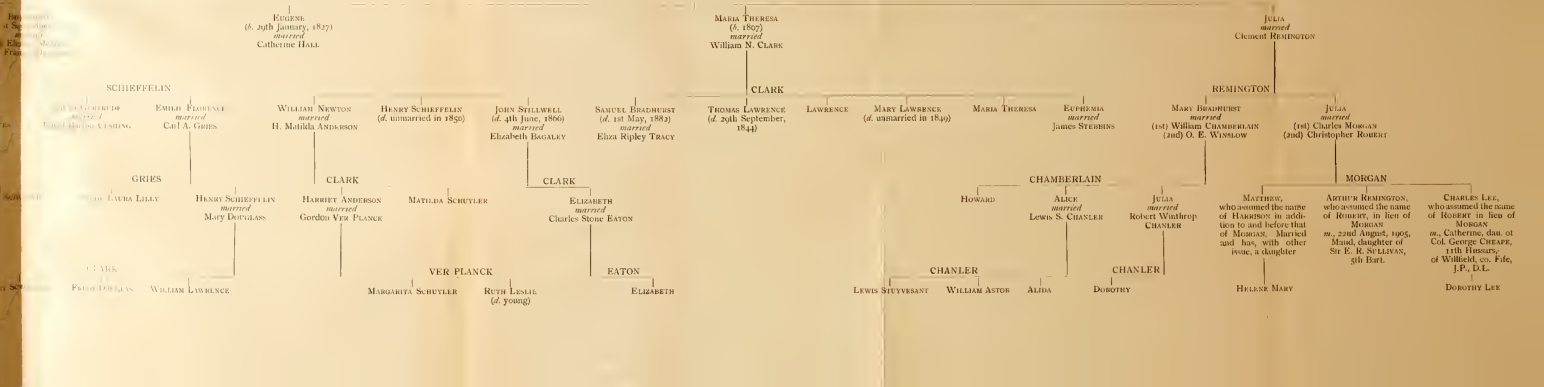
DESCENDANTS OF HENRY HAMILTON SCHIEFFELI


HENRY HAMILTON SCHIEFFELIN
SCHIEFFELIN
SCHIEFFELIN

SCHEFFELIN AND MARIA THERESA BRADHURST

ELIZ[illegible] MARIA THERESA daughter of SAMUEL BRADHURST, [illegible]
[illegible]ber 30th, 1808, [illegible] Pitchist, by Mary Smith,
[illegible] granddaughter of Richard and Mercy STILLWELL.
She was born 25th January, 1780, and died
22nd May, 1872



proper. He appointed as executrix and executors his wife, his son, and his wife's brother-in-law, Mr. John Clark.

With this Will he left three schedules of his estate, dated 1812, 1816, and 1817, and showing the rapid improvement and growth of his property. In the last it appears that he had acquired one hundred and nineteen acres on Harlem Heights.

To this Will he also attached a note:

"This Schedule of my Estate at this time, I have hereto annexed for information, and explanatory of my views. And now I add my blessing to every individual of my family. My first wish has ever been, and will continue to be as long as I live . . . your happiness here and hereafter. . . . Live in love and peace, and may we all meet in Heaven amongst the redeemed.

"Farewell

"February 17th, 1815. SAMUEL BRADHURST."

But the above Will was not his last; the last Will was dated 9th September, 1825; as, however, the latter can at any time be looked up, and perused in New York, it is not worth while quoting from it. Moreover, it did not differ in effect very materially from the Will of 1816; and the earlier one appears to be more clearly expressed, and gives a better idea of the extent of his property at that time.

Samuel Bradhurst and Mary Smith, his wife, had the following children:

SAMUEL HAZARD, born 26th November, 1780; baptised by the Rev. — Vanderlin; died 10th June 1783, and buried in Hackensack Churchyard.

JOHN MAUNSELL, of Pinehurst, born 14th August, 1782.

ELIZABETH, born Sunday, 25th April, 1784; baptised by the Rev. J. Rogers; died 13th October, 1802, and buried in the Maunsell Vault.

MARIA THERESA, born Sunday, 24th January, 1786; baptized by Bishop Moore; married, 19th April, 1806, Henry Hamilton Schieffelin, Esq., and died 22nd March, 1872.

CATHERINE ANN, born Saturday, 12th December, 1787; baptized by the Rev. J. Rogers; married firstly, John McKesson, Esq., Senior; and secondly, Hickson W. Field, Esq., Senior.

Full of honour and years, Samuel Bradhurst passed peacefully away on the 22nd of March, 1826, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, at his town house, 366 Broadway, and his remains are now with those of his daughter, Maria Theresa, in the Schieffelin Vault.

Mary Smith,

Wife of

Samuel Bradhurst

By the Honourable

JAMES DE LANCEY, Esq;

His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of NEW-YORK, and the Territories depending thereon in America.

To *Richard Smith Esqr.* Greeting

REPOSING especial Trust and Confidence, as well in the Care, Diligence, and Circumspection, as in the Loyalty, Courage and Readiness of You, to do His Majesty good and faithful Service; HAVE nominated, constituted and appointed, and I DO, by Virtue of the Powers and Authorities to Me given by His Majesty, hereby nominate, constitute and appoint You the said *Richard Smith* Captain of a Company in the Regiment in the County of the Province of New-York, Wherein Oliver De Lancey Esqr is Colonel or Chief.

You are therefore to take the said *Company* into your Charge and Care, as *Captain* thereof, and duly to exercise both the Officers and Soldiers of that *Company* in Arms. And as they are hereby commanded to obey You as their *Captain* so are you likewise to observe and follow such Orders and Directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from Me, or any other your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you; and for so doing, this shall be your Commission.

GIVEN *under my Hand and Seal at Arms, in* New-York, *the* *Fourth* *Day of* *July* *in the Year of His Majesty's Reign*, Annoq; Domini *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty* *One*.

By His Honour's Command,

Jno. Vic. De Lancey

CAPTAIN RICHARD SMITH'S COMMISSION

MARY SMITH,

WIFE OF SAMUEL BRADHURST

CHAPTER I

OF HER COUSINS IN AMERICA

MARY SMITH, wife of Samuel Bradhurst, was a daughter of Captain Richard Smith by Deborah Stillwell, his wife, and was born about the year 1752. Captain Smith was an English officer, and his Captain's Commission is dated 12th July, 1758.[1] In his Marriage License, dated 20th March, 1740, he is described as "of Monmouth" County, New Jersey. Two years later he became a Freeman of New York, 21st September, 1742. In 1761, on 2nd April, he bought some property in Queen Street, New York, but he died before his daughter's betrothal to Samuel Bradhurst. She, as stated in a previous chapter, was married at the residence of her cousin, Mrs. Prevost, on the 31st December, 1778 (or the 1st January, 1779), and although she and Samuel Bradhurst were not actually related to each other, they had many mutual relatives, inasmuch as her great-uncle had married Mr. Bradhurst's great-aunt.[2]

Mary Smith's early years were passed during the excitement of the Revolution, in which Mr. Bradhurst had—before their marriage—taken part, and which her father had not lived to see; which was, perhaps, fortunate, since—being a British officer—Captain Smith might not have countenanced his daughter's sympathy with the young wounded

[1] It appears probable that Captain Smith was of the family of Smith of North Castle, Westchester County, New York, and of Smithtown, Long Island. His commission is in the possession of his great-great-grandson, A. M. Bradhurst.

[2] Samuel Sands, who married Mary Pell, was the brother of Mercy (Sands) Stillwell, the grandmother of Mary Smith; and Mary Pell's sister, Anne Pell, was the grandmother of Samuel Bradhurst.

American prisoner, and the "course of true love" might not have run so smoothly.

In her youth Mrs. Bradhurst—then Miss Mary Smith—and her sisters had enjoyed exceptional advantages by reason of their family and connections, many of whom held high military appointments under the British Government in the American colonies, whilst others were the owners of vast tracts of land, under various Royal Patents, on Long Island, Staten Island, in Westchester County, in New Jersey, and at Philadelphia. On the conclusion of peace, Mrs. Bradhurst was surrounded by many of the most distinguished persons and notable characters in the early days of the new Republic. Her husband's most intimate friends were such men as Mr. Hazard, the Postmaster-General; Benjamin Moore, the Bishop; Alexander Hamilton, and Lindley Murray; and others scarcely less well known in New York, among whom were Josiah Field, Samuel Watkins, John Clark, and Jacob Schieffelin. Mrs. Bradhurst and her relatives were among the leaders of society in New York at that period when the customs and fashions of the colonial epoch were not so old as to have lapsed into tradition.

"By family ties," says Mr. Barrett,[1] "Mrs. Bradhurst was peculiarly situated, being brought into social intercourse with many of the prominent officers of both the British and American armies. She lived to a venerable age, and to the last delighted to recur to the exciting times of our revolutionary struggle, and to relate many interesting incidents of which she had personal knowledge, and in particular of the Pater Patriæ, into whose company she had been frequently thrown."

Of her much-admired aunts, three were married to English soldiers of distinction—Mary to Colonel Thomas Clarke; Elizabeth to Captain Wraxall, and afterwards to General Maunsell; and Anne to Captain Philip de Vismes—and two others were Catherine, wife of the Rev. Richard Pemberton, and Lydia, Mrs. Watkins of Watkins Place, whose mansion had been the popular resort of the British officers when quartered in that neighbourhood.

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[1] *The Old Merchants of New York City*, by Walter Barrett.

MARY SMITH,
Wife of Samuel Bradhurst

This is supposed to be the portrait which was painted by her brother, James Smith, an artist, residing in Florence, Italy, where he died in 1837

In reference to Mr. Pemberton, Mrs. Bradhurst received a letter containing the following[1]:—

"My dear Cousin Bradhurst,

"I send you some lines written on the Rev[d]: Doc[r]: Pemberton, who married our Aunt Catherine Stillwell, and who your sister Clark was named after and also Caty Brown—written by the Rev[d]: John Treet, his College in the Presbyterian Church in Wall Street, N. York:

"'Bright in the Muses consecrated line
Will charming Pemberton vouchsafe to shine.
'Tis his to captivate the enchanted throng,
While soft persuasion hangs upon his tongue.
Him the fair arts of Eloquence adorn,
The decent gesture and the graceful turn,
Sweet from his words, like Maia's tuneful son,
And all the pomp of diction is his own;
With florid language his discourses shine,
And the smooth period, Pemberton, is thine;
Thine to delight and warn the unlettered crowd,
And by the learnèd thy learning is allowed;
What prudent zeal thro' all his life hath shone,
What multitudes his Heavenly conduct won,
Ever attentive to his Master's Cause,
With various art to recommend His laws;
The stubborn mind with soothing strains he bowed,
The rugged softened, and subdued the proud,
And lo! the harvest of his pious care
A numerous People and a Temple fair.'"

Among Mrs. Bradhurst's cousins were the Watkinses of Watkins Glen; Mrs. James Beekman; Mrs. Dunkin, of Albany;[2] Charles and John Maunsell Watkins;[3] Mrs. Duval, *née* de Vismes, and the latter's sister, Mrs. Browne—mother of the "spoilt beauty," Mrs. Westcott—

[1] The letter, which is in the possession of Mrs. Bradhurst's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Ernest Crosby, is supposed, from the handwriting, to have been written by Mrs. Dunkin, a daughter of Mrs. Bradhurst's aunt, Lydia Watkins. We give the original spelling.

[2] Mrs. Dunkin (Elizabeth Watkins) was the grandmother of Maunsell Van Rensselaer.

[3] John Maunsell Watkins married Judith, daughter of Governor Livingston.

and their step-sister, Mrs. Prevost, whose second husband was Vice-President Burr, by whom she was the mother of the ill-fated Theodosia Burr, the wife of Governor Alston. Mrs. Burr's two sons by her first marriage were the Honourable John Bartow Prevost, who married Frances Ann, daughter of Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College, and whose children lived in Lima, Peru; and Augustine James Frederick Prevost, who purchased from his step-father, Aaron Burr, "The Shrubbery"—a property formerly owned by the Pells—on the East River Creek, near Pelham. Mr. Prevost subsequently sold it to a cousin of the same name, whose descendants have continued there for some generations.

Another cousin of Mrs. Bradhurst's was Miss Charity Clarke, whose husband, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, became Bishop of New York. It appears that when "courting the handsome and accomplished Charity Clarke, on a warm summer day, when aiding her to take off a kid glove, he separated the arm from the hand, which she requested him to repair,"—whereupon he wrote to her:

"In her strength quite determined, secure in her skill,
To parry each stroke or to wound as she will,
The Heroine Cara, my prowess to prove,
Sent a menacing challenge, its token a glove.

"Tho' Merchants, Physicians, thy mandate obey,
Tho' Parsons, Wits, Lawyers, have all felt thy sway,
Tho' Captains and Commodores shrink from thy frown,
While a word knocks the Hero, Magnanimous, down,
With thy trophies of Victory around thee displayed,
Tho' mischievous lightning may glance from thine eye,
Ashamed from a contest so noble to fly
I'll prevail and be happy, or manfully die!

"Lord bless me! cries Cara, what's come to the man?
What a jargon is here—understand it who can?—
Of Physicians, and murder, of lightning, and pain,
Of Parsons, with Lawyers and Commodores slain!
Silly man! be convinced, since the day of my birth
I ne'er wished to give pain to a creature on earth;
Soft in my breast are the passions that glow,
And Peace the dear Goddess before whom I bow.
Send a Challenge to *thee!* and my glove for a token!
Were I ever so kind, 'tis enough to provoke 'un!

KATIE BROWNE

"The Spoilt Beauty"

(afterwards Mrs. Wescott)

Granddaughter of Colonel Philip de Visme, by Anne, daughter of Richard and Mary Stillwell

From the original portrait at Grasmere, by permission of Mrs. Ernest Crosby

"Hush, hark, my dear Cara! thy pity I crave;—
Tho' vengeance is sweet, it is God-like to save,—
All cause of concealment at once to remove,
My Hope to enlighten, and cherish my love,
I'll make the best use that I can of the glove,
And send back the Top, but entreat and demand
That, in token of kindness, you'll give me the *hand?*"

This effusion had the desired effect; Mr. Moore's humorous proposal met with favour, and Miss Charity Clarke gave him her hand in marriage, whereupon an acquaintance, Mr. Hicks, wrote:

"The good Parson deserves a good Clark,
Such happiness fate had in store,
'Twas Charity blew up the spark
And fixed the bright flame in one Moore."

Their son, Clement Moore, was the author of *A Visit from St. Nicholas:*

"'Twas the night before Christmas, when all through the house
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;
The stockings were hung by the chimney with care,
In hopes that St. Nicholas soon would be there;
The children were nestled all snug in their beds,
While visions of sugar-plums danced in their heads;
And mamma in her 'kerchief, and I in my cap,
Had just settled our brains for a long winter's nap,
When out on the lawn there arose such a clatter,
I sprang from the bed to see what was the matter.
Away to the window I flew like a flash,
Tore open the shutters, and threw up the sash.
The moon on the breast of the new-fallen snow
Gave the lustre of mid-day to objects below,
When, what to my wondering eyes should appear,
But a miniature sleigh, and eight tiny rein-deer,
With a little old driver, so lively and quick,
I knew in a moment it must be St. Nick.
More rapid than eagles his coursers they came,
And he whistled, and shouted, and called them by name;
'Now, *Dasher!* now, *Dancer!* now, *Prancer* and *Vixen!*
On, *Comet!* on, *Cupid!* on, *Donder* and *Blitzen!*

To the top of the porch! to the top of the wall!
Now dash away! dash away! dash away all!'
As dry leaves that before the wild hurricane fly,
When they meet with an obstacle, mount to the sky;
So up to the house-top the coursers they flew,
With the sleigh full of Toys, and St. Nicholas too.
And then, in a twinkling, I heard on the roof
The prancing and pawing of each little hoof.
As I drew in my head, and was turning around,
Down the chimney St. Nicholas came with a bound.
He was dressed all in fur, from his head to his foot,
And his clothes were all tarnished with ashes and soot;
A bundle of Toys he had flung on his back,
And he looked like a pedler just opening his pack.
His eyes—how they twinkled! his dimples how merry!
His cheeks were like roses, his nose like a cherry!
His droll little mouth was drawn up like a bow,
And the beard of his chin was as white as the snow;
The stump of a pipe he held tight in his teeth,
And the smoke it encircled his head like a wreath;
He had a broad face and a little round belly,
That shook, when he laughed, like a bowlful of jelly.
He was chubby and plump, a right jolly old elf,
And I laughed when I saw him, in spite of myself;
A wink of his eye, and a twist of his head,
Soon gave me to know I had nothing to dread;
He spoke not a word, but went straight to his work,
And filled all the stockings; then turned with a jerk,
And laying his finger aside of his nose,
And giving a nod, up the chimney he rose;
He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave a whistle,
And away they all flew like the down of a thistle.
But I heard him exclaim, ere he drove out of sight,
'*Happy Christmas to all, and to all a good-night.*'"

MARY STILLWELL,
Wife of Colonel Thomas Clarke

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING GENERAL MAUNSELL

No account of the Bradhursts, and especially of Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst (Mary Smith), would be complete without some special mention of General Maunsell, whose name has been so closely linked with that of Bradhurst, that, in America, the one suggests the other almost as readily as though they were written with a hyphen. Even Pinehurst, the home of the Bradhursts, has been frequently called "The Maunsell Place" by various writers, from the fact that a large portion of the estate was at one time the property of the General. But it is on account of the admiration with which his honourable character and career inspired them, that his relatives in America, handing down the tradition thereof, have bestowed his surname on their sons. As he left no issue, the Bradhursts, having succeeded to his name and estate, have prided themselves on being regarded as the heirs and representatives of that gallant old soldier who served at the sieges of Port l'Orient, Louisbourg, Quebec, Montreal, Martinique, and of the Havana, where in command of the 35th Regiment he led the party who stormed the Moro. He was at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, under General Wolfe, and in action at the same place under General Murray, and was twice wounded on service. He belonged to the Irish branch of the family of Maunsell, Mansell, or Mansel, as it is differently spelt, for in England the "u" is now generally omitted, and in all cases it is pronounced according to the English spelling. The name was, however, written *Maunsell* from the Norman conquest down to the time of Henry III. On the Roll of Battle Abbey it appears as Maunchenell, and there are several variations to be found both in England and France, such as Maunchell, Mauntell, Mancel, Maunseau, Manseau, etc., *eau* and *el* being convertible terminations. It originally signified a native of the ancient town of Le Mans—formerly spelt *Le Mauns*—in the province of Maine; and in the *Roman de Rou* the term "Mansels" is used to designate any of

the inhabitants of that province. In Normandy and Maine there was in circulation a small copper coin which was worth half more in the latter province than in Normandy; hence the old French proverb, "*Une Manseau vaut un Norman et Demi.*"[1]

The family is said to have been founded in England by Philip Maunsell, grandson or nephew of Adinoffe Maunsell, or Maunchenell, chamberlain to William the Conqueror. It has constantly produced eminent men in the Church, the Army, and the Navy. A tomb in the north aisle, near the transept, in Westminster Abbey, bears witness to the distinction of one of the name, whilst another was interred in York Minster. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Sir Edward Maunsell, chamberlain of Chester, was "a man of great honour, integrity, and courage, distinguishing himself in many services."[2] His son (by Lady Jane Somerset), Sir Thomas Mansell, was Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and Vice-Admiral of the Fleet in the same reign. In 1603 he was Treasurer of the Navy, and in 1606 he went as Vice-Admiral of England on the Earl of Nottingham's embassy to Spain. To Sir Thomas is due the introduction of making glass, especially plate glass, into England. He brought workmen from Italy and materials from Spain. May 22nd, 1611, he was created a baronet by James I., being third in the order of precedence. His brother, Sir Robert, was knighted for his valour at the capture of the town of Calais in 1596, was Vice-Admiral of the Fleet in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., "and lived to a very old age, much esteemed for his great integrity, personal courage, and experience in maritime affairs." Another brother, Sir Francis (of Muddlescombe, Carmarthenshire), also received the honour of a baronetcy from James I. in 1622, and was ancestor of the present Baronet, as well as of Edward Mansel, of Trimsaren, Carmarthenshire, who likewise received the same honour in 1696; but the latter title became extinct in 1798. Sir Thomas's descendant, another Sir Thomas, 4th Bart. of that creation, was comptroller of the household to Queen Anne, a privy councillor, a commissioner of the Treasury, and a Teller of the Exchequer, and was

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[1] *History of the Ancient Family of Maunsell—Mansell—Mansel*, by William W. Maunsell.

[2] Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*.

created Baron Mansell of Margam, Glamorganshire, in 1711, but both his titles expired on the death of the 4th Lord, in 1750. The present owner of Margam is descended from a sister of the last Lord Mansel.[1]

Other branches of the same family are represented by the Irish Maunsells, by the Maunsells of Thorp Malsor Hall, in Northamptonshire, and the Mansels of Cosgrove Hall, in the same county. Of these the first-named, the Maunsells of Limerick—to which General John Maunsell belonged—are the eldest line; and they and the Maunsells of Thorp Malsor have retained the "u" in spelling. One of their most conspicuous ancestors was Sir John Maunsell, a very noteworthy character in the reign of Henry III. He was Chancellor of London, Provost of Beverley, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. His wealth was so great that "at one period he held 70 Benefices of different kinds, and his Ecclesiastical revenue was 18,000 marks, the King's income, exclusive of customs, not exceeding 20,000." On the accession of Henry III., Sir John Maunsell was sent to him as an Orator by Alexander II. of Scotland. In 1233 he was made Chancellor or Teller of the Exchequer. In 1244 he negotiated an advantageous peace for Henry III. with Scotland, as well as a contract of marriage between that monarch's daughter, Margaret, and Alexander (afterwards Alexander III.) son of the King of Scotland. Sir John was appointed Prebend of Chichester, and a member of the Privy Council. The custody of the Great Seal was confided to him in 1247. In 1250 he was a Knight of the Sepulchre, and the following year was appointed Treasurer of York. In 1252 Sir John entertained the King (Henry III.) and Queen (Eleanor of Provence) of England, and their son-in-law and daughter, now King (Alexander III.) and Queen of Scotland, at a banquet at his house in Tothill fields. *The first course*, it is chronicled, *consisted of 700 dishes so heavy that two persons were required to carry each dish!* Truly, a Gargantuan feast!

The success with which Sir John Maunsell had arranged one royal marriage, led King Henry to trust him with the negotiation of another; and, in 1253, being sent as Ambassador to Spain, he brought

[1] Mary, sister of the last Lord Mansel, married John Ivory Talbot. Their grandson, Thomas Mansel Talbot, married Lady Mary Lucy Strangways, aunt of that Earl of Ilchester, who succeeded to Holland House.

about the betrothal of Eleanor of Castille to Prince Edward of England (afterwards Edward I.); and at the same time obtained, from Alphonso of Castille, a charter, with a golden seal, acceding to all the King of England's wishes relative to Gascony. In 1255, Sir John went to Scotland to release the King and Queen from the tyranny of their courtiers. Henry III. also chose him to be one of the twelve barons appointed, on the part of the Crown, to introduce the reforms extorted by the Earl of Leicester; and Sir John, with the Earl of Warwick, was elected by the Commons, from the King's party, to name the other executive officers. He was also selected, with the Earl of Leicester and Peter of Savoy, to adjust the internal disputes of Scotland, as well as its differences with England. In 1259 he was sent on a special Embassy to the King of the Romans; and, as Nuncio, he arranged the marriage of Princess Beatrix of England, King Henry's younger daughter, with John (afterwards Duke) of Brittany. When the power of the great Earl of Leicester (Simon de Montfort) was at its height, he obtained from the King a grant of the greater part of Maunsell's vast possessions in England, but these were all restored after the battle of Evesham. Sir John Maunsell founded and endowed a Priory at Bilsington. He died at York about the year 1265, and was buried in its Minster, aged seventy. The King granted lands to the Church that prayers and masses might be said annually for the repose of the soul of John Maunsell. These lands were seized by some barons in the ensuing reign, but were restored in 1275, and the masses continued to be said for him until the Reformation. A seal of a "John Maunsell," found in the foundation of London Bridge, is supposed to have been his. The crest on it is a falconer in a coat of mail, bearing in his sinister hand a hawk, and in his dexter a lure, or spear. This seal, however, bears a legend which is said to suggest a later period. One circumstance alone establishes the great influence of Sir John Maunsell in the reign of Henry III.; in the forty-sixth year of that reign, some apprehension having arisen lest Sir John would stir up strife between Henry and his peers, the King himself wrote to the Pope and Cardinals to assure them that Maunsell was innocent. Sir John Maunsell married Joan,[1] daughter of Simon Beauchamp, Lord of

[1] According to the Pedigrees in the family.

Bedford. Of his sons, Henry, William, and Thomas, the first-named was killed while defending Northampton in 1264; the second settled in Buckinghamshire; and the third was the ancestor of the Mansels (Baronets) in Carmarthenshire, and of the extinct Lords Mansell in Glamorganshire. Passing over a long line from Sir John's son William, we come to Richard Maunsell, of Chicheley, in Buckinghamshire, 1559, from whose younger son the Mansels of Cosgrove are descended. Richard's elder son was Thomas Maunsell, of Chicheley; who was succeeded by John, of Chicheley and Thorp Malsor, whose line is extinct. The second son of Thomas of Chicheley was the Thomas Maunsell who settled in Ireland *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, and who married Alphra, daughter of Sir William Crawford, by whom he had another Thomas, the hero of Macollop, and John, whose descendants inherited Thorp Malsor on the failure of the senior line at that place.

The last-mentioned Thomas distinguished himself as an officer in the Royal Army by his gallant defence of Macollop Castle, co. Waterford. He died in 1686; and his elder son, Colonel Thomas Maunsell, of Macollop, received grants of land in the Counties of Waterford and Galway, and Liberties of Limerick.[1] The Colonel married Anne, daughter of Sir Theophilus Eaton, by whom he had Richard Maunsell, the father of that gallant old General whose name and memory has been cherished in America.

The General, it will thus be seen, came of a long line of soldiers. Richard Maunsell, his father, settled in Limerick, and represented that city in Parliament for twenty years, from 1741 to 1761. He married twice, and the General was the second son of his second marriage. The only son of the first wife was Thomas Maunsell, who was M.P. for Kilmallock, and from whom descended the Maunsells of Plassy, the Maunsells of Bank Place, and the Maunsells of Fanstown, etc., all in the County of Limerick. The General's mother was Jane, eldest daughter of Richard Waller,[2] of Castle Waller, co. Tipperary. The General's step-brother, Thomas, married her youngest sister. Besides the General she had four other sons: Richard, the eldest,

[1] "The latter grant still remains in the possession of the family."—Burke, 1882.

[2] This is the same family to which John Francis Waller, the distinguished poet and author, belonged.

from whom the Maunsells of Ballywilliam, co. Limerick, and the Maunsells of Oakly Park, co. Kildare, are descended; the Rev. William Maunsell, D.D., who was younger than the General; and Eaton and Edward Maunsell, who both died unmarried.

The General, or John Maunsell as we will call him for the present, was born in Limerick, in 1724 or 1725, in the reign of George I. His first commission, as Ensign in the 39th Regiment, was dated 23rd May, 1742. It was the year which dawned with the resignation of Walpole, and which gave birth to new ideas and inspirations, but it afforded little or no opportunity of distinction to a soldier. There was time enough, however, for that. John Maunsell was as yet but seventeen. It was the second year of his father's representation of Limerick; and although, as a general principle, soldiers, like Sovereigns, should be above party politics, young Maunsell was doubtless influenced by his father's opinions. It was a period when England teemed with Jacobites, plotting for the restoration of the House of Stuart; when the House of Hanover had not yet proved how irrevocably it held the English Crown. It was a period of comparative military inaction; a thin crust of outward peacefulness beneath which many secret schemes and intrigues were known to be seething. But though England was, for the moment, outwardly at peace, British troops were fighting in the Continental War as auxiliaries of Hanover, her sister State. In the spring of 1743 they crossed the Rhine in conjunction with their Austrian allies; and in the month of June they were joined by George II. and the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded them in person at the battle of Dettingen, in which they gained a complete victory over the French. This battle is memorable as being the last occasion upon which a Sovereign of Britain was under the fire of an enemy. It was not, however, until March, 1744, that war was openly declared between France and England, thus putting an end to an anomalous state of things, wherein two great States fought each other merely as the auxiliaries of other governments. The defeat of the Duke of Cumberland by Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy, at the end of May, 1745, kindled the plots of the Jacobites into flame. The landing, in July, of the heir-apparent of the House of Stuart on her shores, compelled Britain to conclude the Convention of Hanover, in order that she might be more at liberty to cope with this danger within herself.

General John Maunsell

From an enlarged photograph of a miniature in the possession of Mrs. Ernest Crosby

Prestonpans; Prince Charlie's southward march; his unwilling retreat from Derby; Falkirk, and finally, Culloden Moor, need but a passing reference here to indicate the activity in which King George's soldiers were maintained that year. John Maunsell was twenty, and his movements during that time are unknown, but no officer in King George's service could afford to be idle. It may be that in later years he was restrained from making any reference to the part he had taken during "The Forty-Five," out of consideration for the Jacobite sympathies of his wife's family. At all events, there was a possession of his that connected him with the date of that "Rebellion"—a date interwoven with romantic episodes. "The earliest relic of young Maunsell's campaigns which I remember to have seen," wrote Maunsell Van Rensselaer in 1892, "was a weather-beaten leathern trunk of cylindrical shape, studded with brass nails, with '*J. M.* 1745.' tacked with the same on the top."

The date of Culloden is 16th April, 1746; on the 30th of that month John Maunsell was promoted to Second Lieutenant; and, still in the 39th Regiment, he became First Lieutenant, 25th August, 1749. The next year he received his commission, dated 5th January, as "Captain of that Company whereof Edward Goldsmith, resigned, was late Captain, in Our Regiment of Foot commanded by Our Trusty and Welbeloved Charles Otway, Esq^r.; in Our Army in Ireland." This commission bears the signature of George II. Otway, who commanded this, the 35th Regiment, and Captain Maunsell had mutual relatives in Ireland in the Wallers, of Castle Waller. This appointment, therefore, was probably a most congenial one. Meanwhile events were transpiring in America which would soon draw Captain Maunsell thither to serve under General Wolfe. The history of them dates back to the early neglect of the Colonies by the Mother Country. Left to defend themselves as best they could against the attacks of the French in Canada, the soldiers of New England and New York, supported by Commodore (afterwards Sir Peter) Warren's squadron, succeeded in capturing Louisbourg, in 1746. But two years later it was restored to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which terminated the lingering war on the Continent, on the agreement of the rival nations to give back their conquests. Although by that treaty it could not have been retained, its restoration to the French was, not unnaturally,

a source of humiliation and disgust in the Colonies. France lost no time in pursuing her aggressive policy on her American frontier, and thus drew England into a desultory colonial warfare (1753), which at last became merged in the Seven Years War in which those Powers were engaged in Europe. Their conflict in America is particularly noteworthy as having first brought George Washington into prominence. It is known as the "French and Indian War"; and its propinquity to New York so tempted the sailor-Governor of that Province —Sir Charles Hardy—that he, irked by his official position, obtained a transfer to the Royal Navy in 1757, and in that service he took part in an expedition for the recapture of Louisbourg. The General in command of this expedition was Jeffery Amherst, and among the latter's officers was Captain John Maunsell.[1] After a hard siege, Louisbourg, the key to the St. Lawrence, was captured in July, 1758. The same successful expedition took possession of Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island; and, the tide of fortune having turned decidedly in favour of the British, there were other expeditions which were equally victorious. Washington, with his Virginia Rangers, forming part of an army under General Forbes, drove the French out of Fort Du Quesne, and changed its name to Pittsburg, in honour of him who is known to history as "the great Lord Chatham." The next year was marked by the driving of the French from the country between Pittsburg and Lake Erie, from their fort at Niagara, from Ticonderoga, and from Crown Point, but still more by "the magnificent achievement"[2] of General Wolfe, to whose command Captain Maunsell was transferred.

It was the sagacity of Pitt which saw, beneath the awkward manner of that young General, the genius and heroism required for the accomplishment of what has fittingly been called "the crowning exploit of the war." In 1759 (while Amherst was occupied in breaking through the line of the enemy's forts), Wolfe entered the St. Lawrence and anchored below Quebec, having sailed thither with about eight thousand men, although he had at first been promised twelve thousand,

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[1] General Wolfe was the second in command. The siege lasted over a month.

[2] Ludlow.

[3] Green. *The Decisive Event of the Seven Years War*, Grant Wilson.

and the latter had been estimated to be the strength which he would require. Maunsell, at the head of his company, sailed with him.[1] There was little difference in their ages; Wolfe was only thirty-three. The French General in command at Quebec was no less than the celebrated Marquis of Montcalm. He refused to be drawn from the advantage of his post on the precipitous banks of the St. Lawrence, which at that point increase in height, and rise to a long line of inaccessible cliffs. For six weeks Captain Maunsell witnessed, and took part in the vain efforts made to tempt Montcalm from his impregnable position. Nor were these disappointments all that the British had to bear; they endured great privations, and Wolfe himself lay prostrate with sickness and hopelessness. It seemed for a while as though the judgment of Pitt was at fault, and that the General whom he had selected would fail. Wolfe's letters of despair to Pitt, Walpole, and the Earl of Holderness, did not reach England until October. In the one to the latter, dated 9th September, he describes the strength of Montcalm's position and army, and his own ineffectual attack on the entrenchments of the French the previous July. He explains how a further attempt on the post, which had now been strengthened, would be too hazardous; how the English fleet could render no assistance; how the heat of the weather and fatigue had thrown him into a fever; and finally how, after consulting other officers, he had begun to carry out a plan which might bring about the long-desired battle. Four days after the date of that letter—a month before it reached its destination—Wolfe had accomplished the feat of which he had entertained so little hope; but at the cost of his life. It was one o'olock in the morning of the 13th of September when the small British force were crowded into small boats, to float down the broad river under cover of darkness; and in a silence broken only by the low tones of Wolfe, as he quietly repeated Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" to the officers with him. At a little inlet, now called "Wolfe's Cove," about two miles above Quebec, they landed at the foot of a cliff. Towering above them were the Heights of Abraham, a continuation of a steep ridge of rocks on which the city is built, and which form its natural walls. Wolfe was the first to leap

[1] They sailed in a fleet commanded by Admiral Saunders.

"*By His Excellency Jeffery Amherst Esq^re, Major General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, &c, &c, &c.*

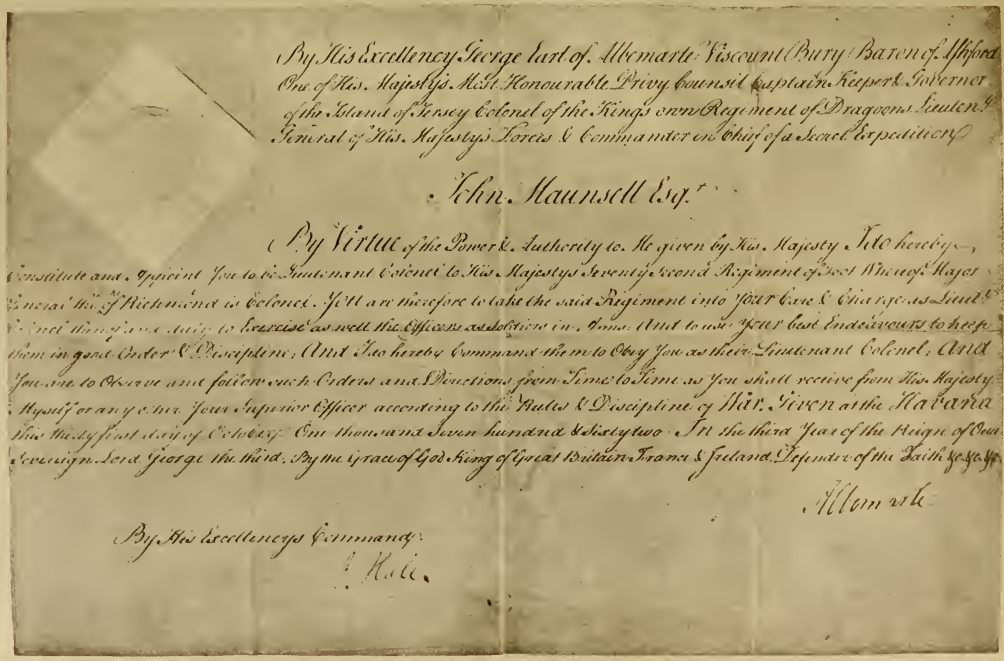
"*To John Maunsell Esq^re,*

"*By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given by His Majesty, I do hereby Constitute and Appoint You to be Major to His Majesty's Seventy Seventh Regiment of Foot, or First Highland Battalion,[1] whereof the Hon'ble Archibald Montgomery Esq^re is Lieutenant Colonel Commandant: and Likewise to be Captain of a Company in the said Regiment: You are therefore to take the said Regiment as Major, and the said Company as Captain, into your Care and Charge, and duly to exercise as well the Officers as Soldiers thereof in Arms: and to Use Your best Endeavours to keep them in good Order and Discipline: and I do hereby Command them to Obey You as their Major and Captain respectively: and You are to Observe and Follow such Orders and Directions, from time to time, as You shall receive from His Majesty, Myself, or any Other Your Superior Officer according to the Rules and Discipline of War. Given in Camp of Montreal, this Seventeenth Day of September, One thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty; In the Thirty-Fourth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord, George the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c, &c, &c.*

"*By His Excellency's Command,*

"*J. Appy.* "*Jeff Amherst.*"

[1] "Montgomery's Highlanders."



By His Excellency George Earl of Albemarle Viscount Bury Baron of Ashford One of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council Captain Keeper & Governor of the Island of Jersey Colonel of the Kings own Regiment of Dragoons Lieut.t General of His Majesty's Forces & Commander in Chief of a Secret Expedition &c.

John Maunsell Esq.r

By Virtue of the Power & Authority to Me given by His Majesty I do hereby Constitute and Appoint You to be Lieutenant Colonel to His Majestys Seventy Second Regiment of Foot Whereof Major General the Honble Lord Hilton Lord is Colonel. You are therefore to take the said Regiment into your Care & Charge as Lieut.t Colonel thereof and duly to Exercise as well the Officers as Soldiers in Arms And to use your best Endeavours to keep them in good Order & Discipline; And You hereby Command them to Obey You as their Lieutenant Colonel. And You are to Observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time as You shall receive from His Majesty Myself or any other your Superior Officer according to the Rules & Discipline of War. Given at the Havana this Thirty first day of October One thousand Seven hundred & Sixty two In the third Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the third. By the Grace of God King of Great Britain France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. &c. &c.

Albemarle

By His Excellencys Command

T. Hall.

JOHN MAUNSELL'S COMMISSION
Lieut.-Colonel, 72nd Regiment of Foot. 31st October, 1762

CHAPTER III

OF GENERAL AND MRS. MAUNSELL

In the following spring General Amherst appointed Major Maunsell to be "Major of His Majesty's Sixtieth, or Royal American Regiment of Foot, whereof I" (runs the Commission) "am Colonel in Chief. . . . Given at New York, this Twentieth Day of March, One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-one; In the First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third," etc. This, therefore, was the first commission which Maunsell received in that reign in which he was to witness such great changes. The Colonel of the "Royal Americans" was Robert Monckton, who had been second in command under Wolfe at Quebec, and who, like Major Maunsell, had been severely wounded on the Plains of Abraham. The date of the Major's commission to this regiment happens to be the very same on which the King appointed Monckton to be Governor and Captain-General of New York in succession to Sir Charles Hardy, resigned; but this appointment did not take effect until some months later.

Maunsell's next commission is dated the 30th of September, in the same year, and transfers him as Major to his old regiment, the 35th, wherein he had formerly been Captain in Ireland. Otway, his old friend, was still Colonel, now with the rank of "General." It was "given at Head Quarters on Staaten Island" by Sir Jeffery Amherst, who was now a Knight of the Bath. On the back of this commission is the following Memorandum, written apparently in John Maunsell's own hand:

"Ensign to the 39th, 23rd May 1742.
2 Lieut. Do. 30th April 1746.
1 Lieut. Do. 25th August 1749.
Capt: to the 35th, 5th Jan: 1750/1
Major to Montgomery's Highlanders,
17th Sept: - - - - 1760.
Major to the Royal Americans,
20th March - - - - 1761.
Major to Otway's, 30th Sept: 1761."

Whether or not these particulars were written by General Maunsell, they are all—with the one exception of the first—confirmed by his commissions, which have been carefully preserved. This memorandum, therefore, corrects one or two errors made by Sir Bernard Burke and Mr. Maunsell Van Rensselaer in their accounts of him. As to his handwriting, there can be little doubt, since many of his letters, etc. are still extant. The errors alluded to are, however, only slight ones to the casual reader, since they are merely numerical when mentioning the regiments.

In October, Monckton, who had been promoted to the rank of Major-General, was inaugurated as Governor ; but he had barely been in office a month ere he produced in council his leave of absence, having obtained the King's authority to quit the government of his Province, in order to take command of the expedition fitting out against the French island of Martinique. This undertaking formed part of a plan devised by the great Pitt, before leaving office. He had foreseen that the secret treaty, known as the Family Compact, between the Bourbon sovereigns of France and Spain, would lead to a rupture between the latter and Great Britain ; and it was his intention that, in that event, this expedition should proceed also against the Havannah. It sailed from Sandy Hook in November, the fleet being under the command of Admiral Rodney. Monckton's force numbered twelve thousand, and included the 35th Regiment ("Otway's") with John Maunsell as Major. They disembarked at a creek in the island on the 7th of January (1762); some of its fortifications were deemed impregnable, but, by great daring, they succeeded in reducing the strongest posts, and Martinique speedily surrendered. In this encounter with the French Maunsell again fought with conspicuous bravery. Then quickly followed the captures of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. The next move was to effect the completion of Pitt's project. Returning to Martinique the expedition joined forces with those who had meanwhile arrived there under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, and who had sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March in a fleet of which Sir George Pocock was Admiral. Their destination was the Havannah. It was under Albemarle, as Commander-in-Chief of this expedition, that Maunsell sailed thither; General Monckton having returned to his governorship at New York.

In anticipation of the British attack Havannah had been very strongly fortified. There were twelve Spanish ships of the line in the harbour, the entrance to which was strongly guarded by two forts, the Moro on the east, and the Puntal on the west side. Behind the latter stood the city, surrounded by ramparts, bastions, and various defences; and there were likewise other forts and fortifications, so that the whole was considered almost invincible. Of all these, the Moro was regarded as the most invulnerable. At break of day on the 7th June, 1762, the British forces landed between the two minor forts of Boscanas and Cojimar. The one was silenced and taken possession of by the *Mercury* and another frigate; the other was taken by the *Dragon*. The defenders fled into the woods. Lord Albemarle, with the light Infantry and Grenadiers, passed the River Cojimar, and took up his quarters for the night, while the rest of the army lay upon their arms along the shore, with pickets advanced into the woods. After four days the Puntal Fort was silenced, but the "Moro Castle" continued to hold its own. For seven weeks this siege was vigorously but vainly pursued, the British suffering greatly from the climate, many of them falling victims to an outbreak of yellow fever. At last, on the 30th of July, an assault was made on the Moro. Major Maunsell himself led the party of attack, and at the head of the 35th Regiment, dashed gallantly into the breach of the castle, first and foremost, and by his own action carried it by storm. From his signal valour on this occasion writers alluding to him briefly, omitting his other actions, speak of him as the hero of the siege of Havannah, and of the storming of the Moro. The loss of life on both sides was very great, and Maunsell is said to have been severely wounded. By this brilliant feat the British were enabled to proceed to lay siege to the Havannah, which, within a fortnight, capitulated on the 12th August. The surrender included all the ships in the harbour; twelve large men-of-war, six of seventy guns, one of sixty-four, and five of sixty; three frigates carrying twenty-four guns each, and numerous merchantmen. Some idea of the losses sustained by the British may be gathered from the following details: of the officers eleven were killed, Major Maunsell and eighteen more were wounded, and thirty-nine others died of fever and wounds. Fifteen serjeants, four drummers, and 260 rank and file were killed. Forty-nine serjeants, six drummers, and 576 rank

and file were wounded. One serjeant, four drummers, and 125 rank and file were missing. In addition to these casualties and losses, the number of those who had fallen victims to malaria exceeded six hundred. The news of the capture of Havannah—towards which Maunsell had so greatly contributed—was accompanied by tidings of the capture of the Philippines by another expedition, and these combined successes served to complete the operations devised by Pitt, and, at the same time, to terminate the war upon terms favourable to Great Britain. On the opening of Parliament, in the ensuing November, the King, in his Speech from the Throne, dwelt on these victories, saying of them that, "History cannot furnish examples of greater glory, a greater advantage acquired by the arms of this or any other nation, in so short a period of time."

John Maunsell's gallant achievement was soon rewarded by promotion, and by the receipt from the Government of "a grant of lands in New York and Vermont, near those granted to his comrade, Major Skene, where Whitehall (old Skenesborough) now stands."[1] His promotion as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 72nd Regiment was dated "at the Havana," 31st October, 1762, and the commission is signed by Lord Albemarle, as "Commander in Chief of a secret Expedition."[2]

In the peaceful interval which followed Colonel Maunsell found himself quartered in New York, where he fell a victim to the beauty of Mrs. Wraxall, *née* Elizabeth Stillwell, the widow of his friend Captain Peter Wraxall. She was one of "six beautiful sisters," whose father, Richard Stillwell, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, came of an American family, concerning whose origin there are many highly romantic and conflicting traditions. Her mother, the "proud and beautiful" Mercy Sands, also belonged to a distinguished Colonial family, claiming descent from the old English house of Sandys. It is said that when Maunsell heard of the betrothal of his friend to the fair American, he rallied Wraxall on his engagement to "an American squaw," but that when he saw her, he himself was immediately captivated.

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[1] M. Van Rensselaer.

[2] This commission was most kindly presented to the Author by Mrs. Ernest Crosby, who has also allowed the papers in her possession, relating to General Maunsell, to be examined and copies to be made.

Captain Wraxall

"Her first husband," again to quote Mr. Van Rensselaer, "was a man of more than ordinary capacity and acquirements, and had held a leading place in the affairs of the province of New York, especially as the secretary for Indian affairs and the confidential friend and aide-de-camp of Sir William Johnson, a relation honourable to both—to Sir William, as trusting this virtuous and upright man above the venal and debauched satellites around him, and to Captain Wraxall, as devoting his learning and ability to the difficult, dangerous, and disheartening labours of Johnson with the Indian tribes. He was a nephew of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, the distinguished traveller and author, and came to this country when he was about twenty-five. In 1747 he was sent by Governor Clinton to England on a special mission with a recommendation from his excellency for a captaincy, and returned in 1750 with a commission as town clerk of Albany, which embraced the clerkship of all the provincial courts. In 1753 he appears as secretary for Indian affairs. In 1754 he was chosen secretary of the provincial congress which met at Albany to consider measures for union and common defence. In 1755 he accompanied Johnson in the expedition against Crown Point, and was wounded in the battle with Dieskau at Lake George (as the Lac du S. Sacrament was henceforth called in honour of the King), the graphic report of which was prepared by him immediately after the action. In the ensuing January he addressed to his chief an able and voluminous report upon the British Indian interest in North America, which is published in the *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. VII., and which formed the basis of a new system of control. He married Elizabeth Stillwell, 9th December, 1756. He was in garrison at Fort Edward in 1757, when Fort William Henry was left to its fate by his commander Webb, and its garrison suffered such atrocities. He died 11th July, 1759. His reports and published papers, prepared often amid the din and bustle of the camp or trading port, show him to have been intelligent, observant, thoughtful, and highly educated; while his library was a rare collection of the choicest works in literature—history, geography, biography, travels, and theology—which the period could supply." From this it will be seen that Captain Wraxall was a young man of considerable ability and attainments, and that his life, which promised so much in the future, was cut short only two and a

half years after his marriage, at the very time that Maunsell was with Wolfe's army before Quebec, during the memorable efforts to tempt Montcalm from those heights.

After four years of widowhood, Mrs. Wraxall was married to Colonel Maunsell, at Trinity Church, New York, 11th June, 1763. "The bridegroom was in his thirty-ninth year, and his elevated character, his sweet and affectionate disposition, his geniality, wit, and humour, his distinguished career, and his courtly manners, made him a universal favourite with his wife's relatives, and a welcome addition to the colonial aristocracy of the city in which they resided from the first." In the same year his regiment—the 72nd (otherwise 83rd), of which the Duke of Richmond was colonel—having been disbanded, he was transferred to the 27th Foot (Inniskillings), which, within two months of his wedding, he was ordered to convey to Canada, and to report himself at Quebec to Governor Murray. But as this military order is an interesting one for several reasons, not the least of which are its details, it shall be copied in full:

"*By His Excellency Sir Jeffery Amherst, Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Major General, and Commander in Chief, of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, &c, &c, &c.*

"*To L^t^ Colonel Maunsell, or Officer Commanding His Majesty's 27^th^, or Inniskilling Reg: of Foot.*

"*Having Ordered three Sloops alongside of the Transport in which the Inniskilling at present are; You will Immediately Embark the Officers and men of said Regiment, in the said Sloops; and proceed with them to Albany; where, upon your Arrival, You will Apply to Colonel Bradstreet, Dep: L^t^ M^r^ General, who will Order you the Scow, or Carriages, to Transport any Baggage, or Necessarys, you may have with You: And You will Continue your Route by such Marches as You may Judge best for the Men (Avoiding to March in the Heat of the Day) by Fort William, Fort George, &c, to Crown Point; Accompting at Albany for the Provisions that may be Remaining on your Arrival there, and Drawing more at the Several Posts, as may be due for the Effective Numbers; And taking proper Notes from the Commissarys to Shew to what time You are Victualled.*

"*Orders are already sent to Lakes George & Champlain for getting the Craft in Readiness for Transporting the Troops over the Lakes: You will therefore Apply to the Commanding Officer at Fort George for Batteaus or Boats, for the Regiment; And you will take particular Care that the Boats you Do take with You, are Immediately Released, that they may be Sent back to be Ready against the Arrival of the Rest of the Troops that are to go the same Route.*

ELIZABETH STILLWELL,
Wife (firstly) of Captain Peter Wraxall,
and (secondly) of General John Maunsell

"*On your Arrival at Crown point, Lt. Colonel Elliot, or Officer Commanding, will Furnish You with a Passage, Either in the Vessells, or Boats, as the Service may Permit; And you will take the same Care to Order them back to Crown point when you Reach St. John's, that they may likewise be Ready for the Other Troops, that are to Follow.*

"*On your Arrival at St. John's, You will Send Immediate Notice thereof to Governor Gage (Unless he may have Ordered an Officer to be there against your Arrival) that he may Order you any Assistance you may Want for Continuing your Route thro' his Government; for You are to Proceed directly to Quebec; where, on your Arrival, You are to put Yourself & Regiment under the Orders of Governor Murray, or the Commanding Officer there; and Follow and Obey such further Directions as You may Receive from him.*

"*Given under my Hand at Head Quarters in New York, this 2nd Day of August 1763.*

"*Jeff. Amherst.*

"*By His Excellency's Command,*

"*Arthur Mair.*"[1]

After his return to New York, Colonel Maunsell and his wife lived, for a while, in a house belonging to Oliver De Lancey, in "*Greenwich Village*" (formerly "Sapohanican"), which had been thus named by Sir Peter Warren when he bought it, after the Sailors' Hospital near London, as being a suitable name for the refuge of an old sailor like himself. Just to the north of them was the demesne of Mrs. Maunsell's brother-in-law, Colonel Clarke, which he, in the same spirit, had named "*Chelsea*," after the Soldiers' Hospital. They were ere long joined in their neighbourhood by the arrival of a third sister, Mrs. Watkins, whose husband established his family on Harlem Heights, near the residence of Colonel Roger Morris, which in later years became so well-known as the abode of Madame Jumel.

Seven years later Colonel Maunsell sold a large part of his Harlem property to Charles Aitken, of St. Croix, and, as this eventually formed the nucleus of Pinehurst, the Bradhurst estate, enough has been said of it in the chapter devoted to that subject. The deed bearing the signatures of himself and his wife, and his seal, is dated 17th September, 1770. Three years later, on the death of his father,

[1] This document is the property of Mr. George G. Freer, by whose kindness many of General Maunsell's papers have been placed at the Author's disposal.

Mr. Thomas Maunsell, M.P., of Limerick, they visited England and Ireland, returning again to their American home. Meanwhile the gathering storm of the Revolution both pained and perplexed him. His sword was at his country's call, but he was deeply attached to his wife's kindred, and the people to whom she belonged. She, too, although perhaps more pronounced in her sympathies, was scarcely less divided in her feelings. Herself born an American, she had twice married British officers, and her brothers-in-law, Colonel Thomas Clarke and Captain Richard Smith, had been in the same service. Her relatives, like her friendships, were divided; and this, indeed, must have been a sore trial to her, for she and her sisters, although outwardly separated during the Revolution, never wavered in "their warm affection, sisterly sympathy, and readiness to help in time of need." Colonel Maunsell, apart from his wife's relatives, had, by his noble and gentle disposition, won many fast friendships in America, of which not a few had been formed before his marriage. But his position was by no means a unique one, for there were others in a similar situation who, too, felt its awkwardness keenly. Among these was his friend, General Monckton, under whom he had fought both at Quebec and at Martinique, whose noble character was such that the Mayor and Common Council said, in their Address to his successor, that he had governed the Colony with "a spirit of dignity, justice and tenderness never to be forgotten by the people of this country." Now, on the outbreak of the Revolution, being offered a command, he declined to draw his sword against the colonists who had fought under him in the French war. Colonel Maunsell was of the same determination. Leaving his wife at her home, he sailed for England in May, 1775, together with a number of prominent Royalists, among whom were such conspicuous men as the Hon. John Watts, Colonel Roger Morris,[1] who had been Maunsell's comrade at Quebec, Isaac Wilkins, and the Rev. Dr. Chandler, etc. He carried with him introductions from Lieutenant-Governor Colden, "warmly commending

[1] Colonel Morris was a brother-in-law of Colonel Beverley Robinson, who also had served under Wolfe at Quebec, and at whose house, during the American Revolution, the American General, Benedict Arnold, held a traitorous meeting with the British spy, Major André, who was acting as the tool of Sir Henry Clinton.

him to the Prime Minister and Lord Dartmouth." He succeeded in obtaining an appointment at Kinsale, in Ireland, which relieved him from serving against his friends in America; and there, after returning to New York for Mrs. Maunsell in the ensuing year, he remained during that great struggle which resulted in the Independence of the American Colonies, "and thenceforward in the establishment of an empire which has shown how quickly, in one vast region, might be realised the probable future contemplated by Adam Smith";[1] —when "the inhabitants of all different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the rights of one another."[2]

In Ireland Mrs. Maunsell became acquainted with her husband's numerous relatives, and formed many lasting attachments. A large family of his nephews and nieces had grown up; and his eldest brother's son, Thomas Maunsell, of Plassy, M.P., was already married.[3] He it was to whom Mrs. Maunsell eventually bequeathed many of his uncle's possessions. At Kinsale disquieting rumours frequently reached them from across the Atlantic, and they were caused many pangs of anxiety for those loved ones from whom they were separated by the war, and who, too, were divided and ranged in opposing ranks. On the 29th August, 1777, Lieutenant-Colonel Maunsell was promoted to the full rank of Colonel, and his commission, bearing the Royal Seal and signed by Lord Weymouth[4] "by His Majesty's Command," describes him as "John Maunsell, Esq., of late 83rd Regiment of Foot." From Kinsale Mrs. Maunsell wrote:

"My gentleman has been much indisposed with a gouty complaint, long under the doctor's hands, as well as myself, which has cost him many guineas. He is growing better but not wholly restored to health. Being often indisposed, I don't go abroad in cold weather. The gentlewomen here appear plainly dressed in their own houses; the dust from coal fires the worst I ever saw, and the heavy sulphurous

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[1] Charles Knight's *Popular History of England.* [2] *Wealth of Nations.*

[3] Another nephew, Richard Maunsell, brother of the above Mr. Thomas Maunsell, died unmarried in America.

[4] Subsequently created Marquis of Bath.

smoke would ruin good cloaths in common. They do not marry here from disinterested motives, but on the contrary an attachment to advance fortune in the choice of a wife seems the ruling passion with the males."

The year 1779 brought Mrs. Maunsell much news of family interest; it opened with the announcement of the marriage of her niece, Mary Smith—at the residence of Theodosia Prevost, another niece—to Samuel Bradhurst, an American who had been wounded and made prisoner by the British: it continued, from month to month, to furnish many thrilling accounts of the engagements in which Colonel Prevost, Theodosia's husband, encountered the Americans; of his march through Georgia, his defeat of Lincoln, and his withdrawal from Charleston: it closed with the news of his death in the West Indies. Similar reports concerning other relatives came from time to time, tinged according to their sympathies as might be expected in a family so parted by its marriages, and withal so united in its affections. Colonel Maunsell who, like others of undoubted loyalty to the Throne, had shown his averseness to taking any active part in this war, was, at one time, called upon to perform the disagreeable duty of raising recruits for the King's army;—an order which he, of course, was compelled by honour to obey, but the performance of which was a task necessarily painful alike to himself and to his wife, during the brief period of its execution. He was gazetted as Major-General, on half-pay, on the Irish establishment, 19th October, 1781:

"*George R.*

"*George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Trusty and Welbeloved Colonel John Maunsell, Greeting:*

"*We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in Your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct, do by these Presents, constitute and appoint You to be Major General in Our Army, and We do, hereby give and grant You full Power and Authority to command and take Your Rank accordingly. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Major General by doing and performing all and all Manner of Things thereunto belonging: And We do, hereby command all Our Officers and Soldiers, whom it may concern, to acknowledge and obey You as a Major General as aforesaid: And You are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions, from Time to Time, as You shall receive*

from Us, or any Your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust We hereby repose in You. Given at Our Court at St. James's the Nineteenth Day of October, 1781, in the Twenty first Year of Our Reign.

"*By His Majesty's Command,*

"*Stormont.*[1]

"*Entered with the Secretary at War,*

"*M. Lewis.*"

Another year passed, and his great-nephew, John Maunsell Bradhurst, was born and named after him. It must be remembered that not only was Mrs. Bradhurst the General's niece, but Samuel Bradhurst, too, was a connexion of Mrs. Maunsell, through the intermarriages of the Pell and Sands families, to which reference has already been made. It would appear, therefore, that, although Mary Smith married during the absence in Ireland of the Maunsells, her husband was by no means a stranger to them; and she herself was a very favourite niece, having often paid them long visits at "Greenwich"; and perhaps, too, at that "Farm on the Hudson" which they sold in 1770, and which afterwards, called "Pinehurst," or "The Maunsell Place," became her own home and that of her descendants. Having no children of his own, the General always evinced the most affectionate interest in the welfare of his nephews and nieces, but especially in that of his young namesake, who eventually inherited that property. About 1782-3, upon relinquishing his post at Kinsale—a post which had required large transactions in supplies for the army—he was greeted by a superior with the jocose remark, as to a comrade who could not be ignorant of official perquisites:

"Well, General Maunsell, I suppose you have not neglected your opportunities to feather your nest."

To which the General indignantly replied:

"Sir, I would as soon defraud you as I would my King."

This little traditional anecdote is a key to the spirit which pervaded his whole life and all his transactions; and the same may be said of his wife. It was this strict sense of integrity which knit them so closely to their high-minded nephew, Samuel Bradhurst, the father of the General's namesake. As for Mrs. Maunsell—in commenting

[1] Subsequently Earl of Mansfield.

on the extravagance and debt of another, she wrote: "I think were I thus situated I would endeavour by every effort to extricate myself, and rather fare on dry bread, and be attired in the meanest apparel than accessory to lessen the substance of others." When peace was concluded with the United States, the Maunsells did not at once return to America, but, on their departure from Ireland, took up their residence in London, at 40 Bury Street, St. James's. Nevertheless, they continued their unflagging interest in all that pertained to the welfare of their distant relatives. It was in December, 1783, that the General wrote from that address the letter quoted in a preceding chapter, in which he advised his widowed sister-in-law, Mrs. Watkins—owing to the unsettled state of the country—to consult Colonel Burr as to her affairs, speaking of him with admiration, and congratulating his niece, Mrs. Prevost, on her marriage to "so good a man." The General, however, was not personally acquainted with Burr, for he wrote, "I hear a great character of him"; and, moreover, at this date the true character of Burr was not yet unmasked. At present he bore a name the reverse of evil; he had fought well during the war; and, be it noted, had been aide-de-camp to Montgomery in an assault made on Quebec by the combined forces of that General and of Benedict Arnold in 1775—the same year in which General Maunsell had left America. Of Benedict Arnold we shall have more to say later. That General Maunsell had by no means "feathered his nest" in the fulfilment of his post at Kinsale, is sufficiently evident from the fact that being insufficiently paid for certain duties which he was called upon to perform, he actually made up the deficiency out of his own pocket, trusting that he would be refunded by the Government on the termination of his appointment, or, at least, on the conclusion of the American War A great number of his accounts, letters, and other papers concerning this matter are still in existence; but, unfortunately, they are not all in the hands of one possessor; and, although they contain much that is interesting, we are unable to dwell upon them in detail, for we do not aim at writing a complete history of General Maunsell's life, but merely a *sketch* of his noble character and gallant career. One of his letters, however, on this subject is dated from "15 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, 25th Feb., 1784," and is addressed to "Lieutenant General Pitt":

"Sir,

"When I had the honour of an interview with you, I mentioned the circumstance of my Half-pay on the Establishment of Ireland having been stopped from me during the period of my acting on the Inspection department in that Kingdom, and you were so kind to say that you would use your influence with his Grace the Duke of Rutland in my favour for the recovery of it for me,—a demand which I consider as my right, withheld thro' a lapse on my part of transmitting the usual affidavit, which by no means injures my claim.

"That you may be acquainted with the circumstances of this affair, give me leave to intrude on a moment of your time with a recital of them.

"In 1775, at a time when it was thought necessary to carry on the War with vigor, and Recruits to fill up the Regiments were wanted, I, just arrived from America and having in that Kingdom some Influence and an extensive connection,—I was ordered thither to carry on the Recruiting Service, and, to defray my expenses on that duty, the small Stipend of 20s/- per day was allowed me, and paid out of the Treasury of England, which really was inadequate; however, I was satisfied, being zealous to promote the Service, and in expectation that my Success and labours would commend me to His Majesty's attention. I had no idea that my Half-pay would be withheld from me, as Ireland did not contribute one shilling to my Support, or for my labours, tho' that Establishment greatly profited by them during the War. I candidly confess that the only reason why I delayed applying for my Half-pay as it became due, was that I could not reconcile it to the tenor of the oath I was to have taken for that purpose. I never hesitated in my own mind, but, at the close of the Inspection Department, that it would have been paid to me from the the period it has been withheld; but I find my Idea unfounded; it is withheld from me to the day I was struck off the 20s/- per day in England, and I find that no method is left for my recovering it but by an application from the Lord Lieutenant for His Majesty's letter to restore it. I therefore beg leave to send you a memorial to be laid before the Lord Lieutenant for that purpose.

"From the Rectitude of your character and disposition to diffuse Justice, I flatter myself with the hope of succeeding in this equitable demand, thro' your mediation with His Grace the Duke of Rutland;—small for a General Officer to make, who has suffered so much, and served so long as I have.

"I am really hurt by the neglect I have experienced in the military line; and to be deprived of this pittance, contrary to the Spirit and meaning of His Majesty's intentions, is extraordinary. Allow me to observe that there is not an officer in the Army who has seen more actual service than I have, or experienced such disappointments; a circumstance mortifying to me, and, I am persuaded, will bias a

Commander in Chief of General Pitt's sensibility in favour of an officer not conscious of any demerit on his part to exclude him from the laws of Justice and countenance of the King.

"The Stipend of 20s/- per day was but temporary, and ceased 24th of April last.

"I have the Honour to be,
"Sir,
"your most obedient
"and most humble Servant,
"JOHN MAUNSELL,
"Major General.

"Abstract of Major General Maunsell's Service:
"Ensign in 1742
"Lieut: Colonel 1762
"Colonel 1777
"Majr. General 1781
"Served at the Sieges of Port l'Orient—Louisburg,—Quebec,—Montreal,—Martinique, and Havana; and had the honor to command the only Regiment that mounted the Breach of the Moro;—was also at the Battle on the Plains of Abraham under General Wolfe, and in the action at the same place under General Murray;—has been twice wounded on Service;—and is at this period of his life,—having lost £10,000 of his personal fortune by taking a decided part on the revolt of the Colonies,—unprovided for, and left without sufficient to support his Rank."

This postscript,—this "Abstract of Major General Maunsell's Service"—strikes one as almost pathetic, for it is, indeed, always sad when a man who has done such deeds of valour is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to recall or enumerate them, whether it be by private letter, published autobiography, or other means. The Duke of Rutland referred to was, at the date of this letter, the newly-appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in succession to Earl Temple, who had held that office at the time of General Maunsell's departure from Kinsale. The "Memorial" ofwhich the General speaks was, therefore, addressed to the latter peer, and ran as follows:

"*To His Excellency, Earl Temple, Lord Lieutenant General & Governor of Ireland, &c, &c, &c.*

"The Memorial of Major General John Maunsell.

"*Humbly Sheweth,*

"That your Excellency's Memorialist was placed by the King's

Letter on Half Pay in this Kingdom as Major to the late 83rd Regiment of Foot.

"That his private Affairs during the late Peace called him to America where he remained till the late unhappy Disturbances when his Loyalty & Duty to his King obliged him to return to Europe by which he suffered a real loss above £10,000 Property.

"That on Account of his not having demanded his Half Pay for some time past, he was struck off the list by the Muster Master General & his Half Pay has been returned as a Saving to the Public.

> "Your Excellency's Memorialist humbly prays you will be pleased to move His Majesty for his Royal Letter for replacing your Memorialist on the said Half Pay as Major from the 30th September 1775 inclusive, to which Day he was paid, or to grant him such Relief as your Excellency in your great Wisdom shall deem meet."

The mention of a personal loss of property to the value of £10,000, no doubt refers to the confiscation, by the Legislature of New York, of those lands which had been granted to General Maunsell by the British Government in recognition of his conduct at Havannah. English people may not be generally aware that there were many great landowners in America, who thus paid dearly for their loyalty to King George during that war. Among those whose estates were confiscated were the Hon. Andrew Elliot, Judge Thomas Jones, William Bayard—who complained that *the rebels* had confiscated every shilling of his valuable property—George Ludlow, the Hon. James De Lancey, Colonel Roger Morris—whose home (near that "Maunsell" estate subsequently called "Pinehurst") became known by the name of Jumel—and the latter's brother-in-law, Colonel Beverley Robinson, whose house had been the trysting-place of Arnold and André. General Maunsell, therefore, was not alone in this grievance, although it may have been accentuated in his case by the discontinuation of the "Half Pay" due from the Government to which he had remained faithful. Indeed he seems, for the time being, to have fallen between two stools! In America he forfeited his lands for his loyalty to the Crown; in England he lost his pay for his scruples anent an oath! It would be interesting to know what was the actual tenor of that oath which, according to his letter, he could not reconcile to his conscience. Eventually, by means of many letters and petitions, or "Memorials," addressed to those in power, he appears to have found a sufficiently

happy issue out of his troubles, if not completely to have regained all that he considered to be his "rights."

Now let us say a word or two as to Lord Temple, the out-going Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was, a few months after his retirement, created Marquis of Buckingham, and, three years later, on the death of his successor, the Duke of Rutland, again appointed Viceroy of that kingdom. He was a kinsman of Sir John Temple, the British Consul General to the United States, to whom he wrote in 1786 informing him of his succession to the Baronetcy in their family. Sir John's immediate progenitors had been settled in America for some years, and his relatives held various high offices in that country. In this way it came about that he was personally acquainted with General Maunsell, for whom he had the greatest admiration, and of whom he had said, when toasting him at a public banquet, that "he was as modest as he was brave." In later years, Sir John Temple's cousin, Charles Augustus Jackson, married Mrs. Maunsell's relation, Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst, a granddaughter of John Maunsell Bradhurst, the General's namesake.[1] Lord Buckingham—the "Earl Temple" of General Maunsell's petition—and Mrs. Maunsell were both descended from the House of Sandys (whereof more will be said later), for the Lady Temple, remarkable for her longevity, and the Mrs. Stillwell, noted for her beauty, were alike of that family. Lord Buckingham's son was created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, having married the heiress of the Brydges family (Lords Chandos, of Sudeley), of whom the "Fair Brydges" married Lord Sandys of the Vine.[2] The Duke purchased Sudeley Castle from Lord Rivers, of Sudeley, and the name derived from this castle plays an important part in the history of the Tracys, to whom, also, we shall refer briefly in our concluding chapters.[3] And so, although all this is hardly relevant to General Maunsell and his "Memorial," the name of Lord Temple could hardly be passed by without a digression, which may be of some interest to the members of those families which it has thus recalled, and concerning which, for other reasons, we shall have more to say presently.

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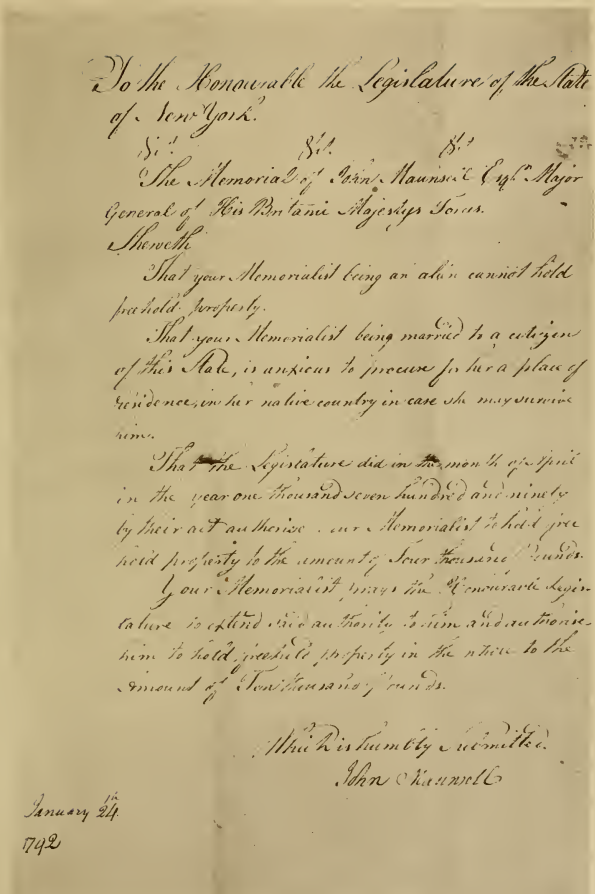
[1] See *Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst, his wife, and family.*

[2] See *Sandys.*

[3] See *Tracy.*



To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of New York.

The Memorial of John Maunsell Esq.r Major General of His Britanic Majestys Forces.

Sheweth.

That your Memorialist being an alien cannot hold freehold property.

That your Memorialist being married to a citizen of this State, is anxious to procure for her a place of residence, in her native country in case she may survive him.

That the Legislature did in the month of April in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety by their act authorize your Memorialist to hold freehold property to the amount of four thousand pounds.

Your Memorialist prays the Honorable Legislature to extend such authority & confirm and authorize him to hold freehold property in the whole to the amount of Ten thousand pounds.

And he is humbly submitted.

John Maunsell

January 24.
1792

MEMORIAL OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN MAUNSELL
His Britanic Majesty's Service, 24th January, 1792

General and Mrs. Maunsell returned to America in the August of 1784, and took up their abode in New York, at No. 11 Broadway. Their niece, Mrs. Bradhurst, who had called her son after the General, had given birth the preceding April to a daughter whom she named Elizabeth, after Mrs. Maunsell. About this time Aaron Burr was coming prominently forward in political matters, and as it is the year in which we find the seeds of his quarrel with General Maunsell, it is fair to assume that it was also the period at which he and his wife (formerly Mrs. Prevost) became estranged from the Bradhursts, who were on such affectionate terms with their uncle. Burr (it would appear from those of the papers to which we have had access), first showed his enmity to the General on the latter's inquiry into the affairs of a mutual relative to whose estate they were both acting in the capacity of Trustees. As to the motives of the General, there can be no doubt; but he was, probably, not so well versed in affairs of this kind as the lawyer, and it would be unjust to take it for granted that Burr acted, in this matter, otherwise than honestly. However, there are two receipts, signed by him, to "Major General John Maunsell," dated 1784; the one of 26th July being for £100 "on account," and the other, of 14th November, for "eighty-nine pounds, ten shillings, and three pence"; these are endorsed, "Colonel Burr's receipts." Later there is a letter written by Burr to "Patrick Brett Esquire, No. 17 Duke Street, St. James, London," who was, presumably, a friend of General Maunsell, since his name appears as one of the witnesses to his will. We will give this letter in full, for it throws a little more light on their business transactions, or trusteeship, by mentioning the name of Mr. Duval, whose wife (*née* Eliza de Visme) was Mrs. Burr's step-sister, and a niece of Mrs. Maunsell:

"Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 2nd May, stating the amount and ballance of the money paid you by Mr. Duval and placed to my credit by order of General Maunsell. I have drawn upon you some days past at thirty days sight in favor of Mr. Andrew Mitchell for the ballance of £189 : 16 : 10.

"I am extremely obliged by your polite offer of service in the disposal of that sum; having determined to postpone for a short time the purchase of the books which, I find, General Maunsell has mentioned to you, I shall not at present trouble you on that subject.

"I am much indebted to you for your obliging punctuality in this matter, and

"Have the honor
"to be, very respectfully,
"yours most obediently,
"A. BURR."

This is dated, from New York, 30th July, 1787. It seems to refer to some business in connection with the property of Mrs. de Visme (daughter of Richard Stillwell and Mercy Sands), who was the mother-in-law of both Burr and Duval. She was one of Mrs. Maunsell's sisters, and it was at her house at Paramus that she is said to have entertained General and Mrs. Washington at the same time that her niece, Mrs. Bradhurst (Mary Smith), and Samuel Bradhurst were visitors there. At any rate, whatever was the cause of the quarrel between General Maunsell and Colonel Burr, it seems to have reached a climax in this year. Burr's star, just then, was in the ascendant; and, being unscrupulous, he determined to make the British officer who had crossed his path pay for doing so. Burr, it must be borne in mind, was a somewhat "sharp" lawyer. By means which need scarcely be investigated, he managed to procure the arrest of General Maunsell on a charge from which that honest veteran was soon exonerated with flying colours. The anger of the relatives can well be imagined. It may have been that Burr's conduct in this rankled in the breast of Samuel Bradhurst some years later. The humiliation of such an indignity must indeed have pained so sensitive a nature as that of the General, who refers to the incident in a memorandum relating to the sums in dispute:

"6th March, 1786, Colonel Burr paid me by Barton part of Mr. Livingston's[1] money, so that Colonel Burr had in his hands from 17th Feb., 1786, to 27th Sept., 1787, being 1 year, 7 months, and 10 days, the sum of £87 : 10 : 11, *as on that day I was arrested*, and he paid for me £125 out of all the money he had of mine in his hands, which, without counting interest, was £549 : 4 : 11; but, as I paid interest for all the money I had of mine in his hands, it is but reasonable that he should pay me interest; in that case the sum in his hands would be Principal and Interest."

[1] Governor Livingston's daughter, Judith, married John Maunsell Watkins, a nephew of Mrs. Maunsell, and namesake of the General.

This does not seem very clear—General Maunsell may not have had much capacity for business—but it is worth quoting, as he gives the date of his arrest.

In 1790 the General visited England and, probably, went to Ireland, for his will is dated the 2nd of August in that year, in London, and describes the Irish properties which, subject to the life-interest of his wife, he bequeathed to the Maunsell family. He remained absent from America for some months, for in the spring of 1791 he wrote to his wife's niece, Miss Watkins, a letter from which we have already quoted; but which, with apologies for the repetition, deserves to be given in full, since, as Mr. Van Rensselaer (to whom we are indebted for its contents) has said, it is "so characteristic of the old soldier, with glints of Irish humour, irony, and banter, honest and sincere."

"A thousand thanks for your letter of 16 January which came to my hands on 16 Feb., accompanied by one from your aunt and one from Lyddy. I am to hope that your aunt is well, tho neither of you tell me so in your letters; Lyddy is quite silent respecting her. I hope she has not experienced any inconvenient cold from the severity of the winter. I really long to see you all more than you can imagine. Lyddy tells me that Mr. Burr expects a seat in congress, and that he has taken *Big* Symmons's house in Wall Street. As I shall never more have any intercourse with him, or his family, his changes in life give me no concern, or pleasure; he is no friend to your house. I rejoice that you and Lyddy find beaux to attend you, and that you mix with the gay and lively. Remember me to the Stoutons, Ten Eycks, Smiths, the Randalls—Miss in particular—Miss Ramsey Marshall, and our opposite Miss Sucky Marshall and be sure to mention me always to my good friend Gen: Gates and his Lady.

"The season of my return to my Dear Wife approaches fast. I am determined never more to separate. Sometimes I write a little angrily to my wife and to you all; you must not mind that; my mind is easily disturbed at the Idea of my long separation from you all. Besides Roger R. has vexed me a little, because he cheats you all, and you have no remedy of redress but thro my employing Mr. Jenkins to sue him in chancery.

"I do not think that Mr. Burr will be sent to Congress. You will perceive that he will act just as he did respecting the Assembly; he declined in print—before he was chosen—a pritty mode of manifesting confidence in success, which he was not sure of. . . . I hope

that a letter from Capt. Drew will accompany this to Liddy and me; I have written to him; no answer yet. I have said all that occurs to me. I'll lay down my pen, first requesting you to make my most afft. regards to all your house, don't forget Sam."

Miss Elizabeth Watkins, to whom this letter was addressed, became Mrs. Dunkin, and the mother of Mrs. John Van Rensselaer, and the grandmother of Maunsell Van Rensselaer, from whose article on General Maunsell we have so frequently presumed to quote. "Lyddy" was Miss Watkins' sister, Lydia, who married, firstly, the "Captain Drew" mentioned in the letter, and secondly, Mr. James Beekman. Miss Susan Marshall—"our opposite"—became the wife of Charles Watkins, the eldest brother of those sisters. "Sam" was Samuel Watkins (of Watkins Glen), another brother; we have already spoken of his partnership with Samuel Bradhurst, but there is more to be said of him in connection with his cousin, John Maunsell Bradhurst; and his Will, it will be seen, gave rise to a controversy amongst all these relatives, which, for want of a more fitting description, will be given in a chapter entitled "A Family Dispute." General Maunsell's letter to Miss Watkins is typical of his constant and affectionate solicitude for the well-being of all his kin. "The Smiths," to whom he wishes to be remembered, were the family of Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst; and the "aunt" about whose health he makes anxious inquiry was Mrs. Bradhurst's mother, and his own sister-in-law, Deborah, widow of Captain Richard Smith. She died 23rd January, 1791—a few days after the date of that letter from Miss Watkins, the receipt of which the General acknowledges—aged seventy-three, having been born in 1718, and married to Captain Smith in 1740.[1]

A few months after General Maunsell's return to America, we find him increasing his property near New York City, at Harlem. The law of that State, though averse to such ownership by an alien, was, on the other hand, so loth to relinquish its citizens that American women, even when married to men of another nationality, were still regarded as belonging to the country of their birth; and so, what

[1] Their marriage license is dated 20th March, 1740. Among General Maunsell's papers the name of Burr again appears in connection with the executors of Mrs. Smith's estate.

General Maunsell
(Portrait and Sword)

In the possession of his great-great-great nephew,
A. Maunsell Bradhurst

General Maunsell could not, as a British subject, easily accomplish for himself in this respect, he was able to acquire in the name of his wife. It appears that in April, 1790, just before leaving to put in order his affairs in England and Ireland, he had obtained the authority of the Legislature to hold property to the value of £4,000; and now, in January, 1792, he petitioned that this, for his wife's benefit, might be extended to the amount of £10,000. This land, although in the same neighbourhood, was quite distinct from that larger estate which he had formerly owned, and which, for that reason, continued to be known as "the old Maunsell Place" even after it had been acquired by the Bradhursts, and named "Pinehurst." Having gained the sanction of the Legislature, the General now possessed lands including "Low's Farm," and the property whereon Mrs. Maunsell built the house in which she passed her widowhood. The latter is, therefore, called "The Maunsell *House*," and the former passed, after the death of the General, into the hands of Samuel Bradhurst, who added it to the rest of his "Maunsell Property," or "Maunsell *Place*," *alias* "*Pinehurst.*" Hence it is not surprising that there is some confusion in the references made to these country houses by various writers; thus, we meet with such anachronisms as the statement that the mansion at Pinehurst was built by Mrs. Maunsell, and occupied by her down to the time of her death! whereas it was really an old Colonial house, through the site of which 148th Street now runs, which was sold by General Maunsell before the outbreak of the American Revolution; while the house which she built, towards the end of the Eighteenth century, stands at the corner of 157th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. The petition of General Maunsell was afterwards regarded as a precedent by aliens desirous of purchasing property in New York. Within a year of its date he added a codicil to his will, leaving his lands in America to his wife absolutely.

He was promoted Lieutenant-General 12th October, 1793. In 1795 he tried to dispose of "Low's Farm" (which has long since been absorbed by the City of New York!), but it was not until after his death that Mrs. Maunsell effected its sale, and Samuel Bradhurst added it to his increasing estates.

The General died 27th July, 1795, and his remains, with those of his wife, rest in the Bradhurst vault in Trinity Cemetery. "That he

was frank, genial, generous, unaffected, and unswerving, and a true man in all relations of life, was the unvarying testimony of all who knew him. The strength of his character was shown in the lasting impress which he left on all with whom he was brought in contact. His name remained with them, and still remains with the descendants, a household word, and they never tire of repeating his sayings and his acts. Even his foibles were dear to them, as when they told how the veteran who had faced the bullets and bayonets of the French and Spanish, and the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage, was so afraid of being choked by a fish-bone that he would allow no one to speak to him when he was eating fish. His name, perpetuated in every generation since his death, testifies to the abiding veneration with which his memory is cherished." [1]

His will was dated in London, 2nd August, 1790, and witnessed by William Long Kingsman, of Upper Seymour Street, and by Luke Beasley and P. Brett, both of Duke Street, St. James's.

"I, John Maunsell, Major General in his Britainic Majesty's Army, now residing in the city of London, do make this my last Will and Testament (whereof I have executed three parts of the same tener and date with these presents) in manner following, first revoking and disannuling all Wills, Codicils, or any bequest whatsoever, that I might have heretofore made or executed, declaring this to be my last Will and Testament in manner following: viz. I Give, Bequeath, and Devise, unto my Dearly beloved Wife, Elizabeth Maunsell, and to Her Heirs for ever, All, and every part of my Personal Estate and Fortune, of what nature or kind soever, the same may consist.

"And Whereas I have purchased a yearly Rent charge in ffee, of two hundred pounds Irish currency, issuing out of, and charged upon the lands of Beekstown in the county of Tipperary, in the Kingdom of Ireland, part of the Estate of my Nephew Thomas Maunsell Esq^re^,[2] my Will concerning the same is, and I do Hereby Give, Bequeath, and Devise my said Rent charge unto my Dearly Beloved Wife, Elizabeth Maunsell, and to Her assigns for and during her natural life. Said

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[1] *Lieutenant General John Maunsell*, by M. Van Rensselaer.

[2] Thomas Maunsell, of Plassy, co. Limerick, M.P. for Johnstown, eventually became the representative of the family. His father was the General's step-brother, and his mother was a sister of General Maunsell's mother. Thomas Maunsell married a daughter of the Rev. William Maunsell, D.D., by whom he had two daughters, the elder of whom married also a cousin, Major Robert Hedges Eyre Maunsell.

"MAUNSELL"

SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF GENERAL MAUNSELL TO HIS NAMESAKES

GENERAL JOHN MAUNSELL
married
Elizabeth STILLWELL,
and had no issue.

Of their NEPHEWS and NIECES, the following are his NAMESAKES:—

(*niece*)
Mary SMITH
married
Samuel BRADHURST, of Pinehurst,
or the "Maunsell Place,"
which belonged to General Maunsell
until 1770

(*nephew*)
JOHN MAUNSELL WATKINS

(*niece*)
Elizabeth WATKINS
married
—. DUNKIN

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST,
of Pinehurst

Maria Theresa BRADHURST
married
Henry Hamilton SCHIEFFELIN

Anne DUNKIN
married
John S. VAN RENSSELAER, of Albany

Samuel Stillwell BRADHURST

HENRY MAUNSELL BRADHURST,
of Pinehurst

HENRY MAUNSELL SCHIEFFELIN

MAUNSELL VAN RENSSELAER

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST

Charles Cornell BRADHURST

Frances Pearsall BRADHURST
married
M. Augustus FIELD

AUGUSTUS MAUNSELL BRADHURST

Fanny Kendall SCHIEFFELIN
married
Ernest Howard CROSBY

HENRY MAUNSELL BRADHURST

MAUNSELL BRADHURST FIELD

MAUNSELL SCHIEFFELIN CROSBY

MAUNSELL HOWARD CROSBY

Rent charge of two hundred pounds per annum to be paid unto my Dearly beloved Wife aforesaid, and to her assigns in as full and ample a manner as it is now paid unto me and to my assigns, during the term of her natural life, and after her decease my Will respecting said yearly Rent charge is, And I do hereby Give and Bequeath said Rent charge unto my dear Brother William Maunsell,[1] and to His Heirs and assigns for ever.

"And Whereas I have purchased from the Right Hon^ble the Earl of Carrick a Freehold Estate consisting of certain lands, which are lying, and situated in the county of Clare, in the Kingdom of Ireland, and in the tenure and possession of George Stackpole Esq^re, at the Annual Rent of three hundred pounds Irish currency payable to me, my Heirs and assigns for ever. My Will respecting said Freehold Estate is, and I do hereby Give, Bequeathe, and Devise said Freehold Estate, which I purchased from the Right Hon^ble the Earl of Carrick, situated in the county of Clare, in the Kingdom of Ireland, unto my Dearly beloved Wife Elizabeth Maunsell, and to her assigns for, and during the Term of her natural life, together with all the Rents and advantages arising therefrom, which she is to enjoy in as full and ample a manner as they are now paid unto me, and my assigns, for and during the term of her natural life, and after the Decease of my said Wife Elizabeth Maunsell, I do Give Bequeathe, and Devise said Freehold Estate, and lands, unto my Nephew Richard Maunsell,[2] and to his Heirs, and assigns for ever. In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this second day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety. And I Do Further hereby constitute and appoint my said dearly beloved Wife, Elizabeth Maunsell, Executrix, and my Brother, William Maunsell, and my said nephew, Richard Maunsell, Executors to this my last Will and Testament the day and year aforesaid.

"JOHN MAUNSELL."

The codicil is dated 1st April, 1793, and the General signed it, "John Maunsell, *Major General*"! It was attested by Hugh Gaine, Philip Ten Eyck, and Mrs. Maunsell's nephew, Charles Watkins. It confirms the will, and leaves to Mrs. Maunsell and her heirs all that "Freehold Estate" which the General had purchased at Harlem, "in

[1] The Rev. William Maunsell, D.D., was the General's younger brother. He married Miss Lewis, and was the father-in-law of Thomas Maunsell, of Plassy.

[2] General Maunsell had a nephew, Richard Maunsell, the representative of the family, eldest son of his step-brother, and brother of Thomas Maunsell, of Plassy. This Richard died unmarried in America.

the outward of the city of New York." On this estate, or "farm," Mrs. Maunsell built "The Maunsell House," as it is called (at the corner of 157th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue), where she resided until her death, which occurred in 1815. Her personal effects, which, for the period, were considerable, were divided between a host of nephews and nieces. Elaborate inventories were taken, and some of the details are quaint. In one, which is headed "Inventory of Mrs. Maunsell's clothing, etc.," we find not only mention of satins, furs, silks, brocade gowns, laces, and ruffles, but also of "*2 scarlet coats trimmed with gold lace and 3 epaulets*"! We can guess who had been their owner. It was probably in one of these that the General had sat for his portrait. But when in the same list we see "Livery great coats, livery coats, vests, and *breeches*," we can but smile at finding them included in the dainty particulars of a lady's wardrobe! Her library appears to have been extensive; most of the books fell to the share of her niece Mrs. Beekman, the "Lyddy" of General Maunsell's letters. This lady also inherited some of her aunt's furniture, china, and plate, including "1 case silver handled knives (with Gen. Maunsell's crest on)." Mrs. Beekman's sister, Mrs. Dunkin—formerly Miss Elizabeth Watkins, the General's correspondent—obtained a yet larger share of furniture, besides silver which had been her father's, and a pair of carriage horses, "Bet" and "Michael," another pair of horses, and "*My chariot and harness.*" The five daughters of "the late Charles Watkins" were to receive £50 apiece, but three of them are also among those mentioned in the partition of household effects. To the Presbyterian Church, "to be between Haerlem Hill and Kingsbridge," Mrs. Maunsell bequeathed "2 silver cups of chase plate with covers for the Communion Table." In the matter of silver Samuel Watkins was greatly favoured, and there is special mention of his receiving "4 silver candlesticks with dish and snuffers," and "1 case of silver handled knives and forks," all bearing the Arms of his father. But to us the most interesting item in the list devoted to him is "General Maunsell's portrait," which, on the death of Samuel Watkins, passed into the possession of the Bradhursts, at Pinehurst. In the distribution of personal ornaments, etc., Lady Affleck, another niece, is mentioned, as also that lady's sister, "Mrs. Charity Moore," and the latter's son, Clement Moore, the poet. Mrs. Moore was to have silver

LADY AFFLECK

From the portrait at Holland House, painted by Madame de Tott, by permission of Mary, Countess of Ilchester

engraved with the Arms of General Gage, the portrait of Mr. Wraxall, and "1 sett tea china, with General Maunsell's Arms on." The portion of Mrs. Bradhurst, in addition to the money bequeathed to her, consisted of silver plate, furniture, and china, including a picture by her daughter-in-law "Betsey Bradhurst," *i.e.*, Mrs. John Maunsell Bradhurst (Elizabeth Wilmerding), and "1 sett china tea cups" on which were the Maunsell Arms. To "Elizabeth Ames, of Clifton, near Bristol," there was to be sent a case containing a service of silver all marked with "her grandfather's crest." Nor was Mr. Thomas Maunsell, the General's nephew in Ireland, forgotten[1]; to him various articles were to be despatched, such as, "1 table sett china, with the Maunsell Arms on, and 1 table cloth & 12 napkins, with said Arms on." With these inventories is a memorandum giving particulars of sundry pieces of money found in Mrs. Maunsell's "travelling case," and it is interesting, at the present date to notice what was then considered their equivalent in the currency of the United States. For instance, "1 piece 47/4" is valued at $5·75; "2 Half Johannes" at $15·00; "11 Guineas" at $51·00! Then there are "Eagles" worth $10 each, and half-eagles, and, finally, "1 small gold piece 8/-," the value of which is set down as $1! This was most likely a seven-shilling piece, known in numismatics as a third-of-a-guinea, a small gold coin struck only in the reign of George III.

The Maunsell Arms, so repeatedly referred to, are in the language of heraldry, "Argent, a chevron, between three maunches sable." The crests are, "a hawk rising ppr." and "a cap of maintenance, inflamed at the top ppr." General Maunsell's family have two mottoes, one is, "Quod vult valde vult," and the other is one which is particularly applicable to the mutual esteem and affection with which General Maunsell and his American relatives regarded each other, to wit—

"*Honorantes me honorabo.*"

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[1] Mr. Thomas Maunsell, of Plassy, was both cousin and nephew to the General, for their mothers were sisters, and Mr. Maunsell's father was the General's step-brother.

CHAPTER IV

OF LADY HOLLAND AND OTHER RELATIONS

MRS. BRADHURST'S uncle, Theodosius Bartow,[1] had a brother Theophilus,[2] who had married Mr. Bradhurst's great-aunt—his grandmother's sister—a daughter of Thomas Pell, 3rd Lord of Pelham. Mrs. Bradhurst and her husband were thus doubly related to the Bartows in Westchester.

The cousins of Mrs. Bradhurst in England were Mary, Lady Affleck, and her daughter, Elizabeth, the famous Lady Holland. The former was a daughter of Colonel Clarke,[3] General Maunsell's intimate friend and brother-in-law, and a sister of Mrs. Moore, the Bishop's wife, and of the Lady Barrington, who was drowned on her honeymoon. Lady Affleck had been previously married to Richard Vassall, an uncle of that Viscount Barrington who married her unfortunate young sister. As Miss Mary Clarke, Lady Affleck had had many suitors; and indeed the three sisters had all been much admired—Charity, who, having been "hand-in-glove" with the humorous "Parson," married that embryo bishop; Maria Theresa, the ill-fated bride of Lord Barrington; and Mary, or "Polly," who captured that nobleman's wealthy uncle, Mr. Vassall. The latter betrothal called forth another couplet from their friend Mr. Hicks.

> "Alas, gay Polly, you are paid for all your triumphs past!
> The scene is changed, and you are made a *Vassal* at the last." [4]

By Mr. Vassall she had an only daughter, Elizabeth, and by Sir

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[1] Theodosius Bartow married Anne Stillwell (Mrs. Bradhurst's aunt), and it was their daughter, Theodosia, who married, firstly, Colonel Prevost, and secondly, Aaron Burr. Mr. Bartow's widow married Captain de Vismes.

[2] Theophilus Bartow left numerous descendants.

[3] Colonel Clarke's wife was Mary Stillwell, aunt of Mrs. Bradhurst, and sister of Mrs. Maunsell.

[4] The name is frequently spelt *Vassal*—with one "l."

ELIZABETH VASSALL (LADY HOLLAND)

From the portrait at Holland House, painted by Fagan

Gilbert Affleck she had no children, and Sir Gilbert was succeeded in his baronetcy and in the estate of Dalham Hall, in Suffolk, by a cousin, from whom the present baronet is descended.[1]

Mr. Vassall was the son of Florentius Vassall, of the island of Jamaica, where his family were possessed of large and valuable estates, and he was the last representative of the senior line of that family.[2] These great estates passed eventually to Richard Vassall's daughter, Elizabeth, and to his sister, who married the Honourable John Barrington, and became the mother of the Lord Barrington above mentioned. It was this Elizabeth, the wealthy heiress of the Vassall's, Lady Affleck's daughter—(and niece of Mrs. Moore, whose "deposition" will be presently quoted)—who became so celebrated as Lady Holland. She married firstly Sir Godfrey Webster, 4th Baronet, of Battle Abbey, by whom she had two sons and a daughter[3]; and secondly, Henry Richard Fox, *third* Lord Holland,[4] who thereupon assumed the name of Vassall.

Her "assemblies" at Holland House were the most noted and sought after in London; she gathered together all the most celebrated and remarkable men of her time; all the wits of the day, the authors, poets, painters, soldiers, politicians and statesmen mingled with the fashionable crowd which thronged her magnificent reception rooms. Much has been written of these great gatherings, and many clever and sharp sayings have been attributed to her. But on one occasion, at

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[1] Dalham Hall was eventually sold to the late Cecil Rhodes—the founder of Rhodesia—who entailed it on his brothers and their heirs upon certain remarkable conditions.

[2] See Burke's *General Armoury*. The Vassalls were derived from Alderman John Vassall, of London, who equipped and commanded two ships of war against the Spanish Armada. A younger branch of his family settled in Boston, America; and it was one of the latter who built, in 1759, "Craigie House"—afterwards "Washington's Headquarters"—at Cambridge, U.S.A. This mansion was once the residence of Nathaniel (son of Patrick) Tracy, and finally became the home of the poet Longfellow.

[3] These children have left descendants. Lady Holland's first marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament.

[4] Lord Holland was a nephew of the celebrated Charles James Fox, virtually Prime Minister of England, who, when a Lord of the Treasury, resigned office in order to oppose the fatal mistake of drifting into war with the American Colonies.

least, she met her match. The occasion was a dinner-party at Holland House, when among the guests was the late Rev. Sir John Page Wood.[1] He was the Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, in the City of London, which his father, Sir Matthew—Queen Caroline's champion—had represented in nine successive Parliaments, having been twice Lord Mayor.

"You come from the City," said Lady Holland, in the course of conversation, with an affectation of ignorance. "What is the City?"[2]

"The City," replied Sir John—perhaps somewhat nettled by her tone—"is a place where impecunious noblemen borrow money."

The shaft went home; for it was well known that, in spite of the rich Vassall estates, Lord Holland had recently had some trouble in raising a sufficiently large sum to meet her ladyship's magnificent expenditure.

By Lord Holland she had a daughter who married Thomas Powys, third Lord Lilford,[3] and a son, the late, and last, Lord Holland, on whose death, in 1859, the title became extinct, and on the death of whose widow Holland House[4]—one of the historic mansions of London—passed to his kinsman, the Earl of Ilchester.[5]

Mrs. Bradhurst's two sisters were Margaret, Mrs. Stillwell—who had married a cousin of that name—and Catherine (named after their aunt, Mrs. Pemberton), who married Mr. John Clark. Their brothers were Samuel, John, a clergyman in England, and James, an artist residing at Florence, in Italy. The last-named painted a portrait of his sister, Mrs. Bradhurst, but all trace of it has been lost.

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[1] Sir John Page Wood's granddaughter, Evangeline, married A. M. Bradhurst, a grandson of this Lady Holland's cousin, John Maunsell Bradhurst.

[2] "The City" in London is the equivalent of the expression "Down town" in New York.

[3] Lady Lilford left descendants.

[4] The last Lord Holland married Lady Augusta Coventry. It is an odd coincidence that while Elizabeth, wife of the third Lord Holland, was a cousin of the Bradhurst family, her daughter-in-law, Lady Augusta, was a cousin of Mr. H. M. Bradhurst's son-in-law, Gerald F. Talbot; and the mention of the former Lady Holland recalls the repartee of Sir John Page Wood, whose granddaughter, Evangeline, became Mr. H. M. Bradhurst's daughter-in-law!

[5] His ancestor, the first Earl of Ilchester, was a brother of the first Lord Holland.

ELIZABETH VASSALL (LADY HOLLAND)

From the portrait at Holland House, painted by Gaüffier, 1795, by permission of Mary, Countess of Ilchester*

** This date is on the back of the frame, and if it is the correct date of this picture, this portrait must have been painted when she was Lady Webster, as she did not marry Lord Holland until 1797*

In her later years Mrs. Bradhurst recalled many interesting incidents and anecdotes of General Washington, and of the revolutionary period; and she would tell how, when she and the President were both visiting at Paramus, at (presumably) the house of her aunt, Mrs. de Visme, he would always carefully spread a handkerchief over one knee before crossing the other, in order to protect his immaculate buckskin breeches; and of how at nine o'clock a glass of wine was handed to him, and he would then retire for the night. When he and Mrs. Washington abode in New York, Mrs. Bradhurst and her husband were among those whom they received most cordially. Fashionable society was limited to about three hundred persons, and, we are told, those who attended the levées of the first President, and the receptions of Mrs. Washington were carefully selected either from those who held some official position, or whose rank and character were established, while the "vulgar electioneerers, or the impudent place-hunter," were rigorously excluded. On one such occasion, when the hall-clock struck nine, Mrs. Washington rose, and remarked, "The General always retires at nine, and I usually precede him." Whereupon conversation yielded to the rustling of many skirts as the ladies prepared to take their respectful leave. At these receptions "full-dress" was worn; and it was at that period considered contrary to etiquette for even his most intimate friends to invite the President to dine. Such were the customs and scenes of which Mrs. Bradhurst recalled reminiscences so interesting to her hearers a generation later.[1]

In 1815 her aunt, Mrs. Maunsell, died leaving her a legacy and sundry pieces of plate and furniture. Amongst members of the family specially mentioned by Mrs. Maunsell were Mrs. (Charity) Moore (the Bishop's wife), Clement Moore (her son), Lady Affleck, Mrs. (Elizabeth) Dunkin, Mrs. (Lydia) Beekman, Samuel Watkins, "the five daughters of the late Charles Watkins," and Thomas Maunsell, who was the General's nephew, and the representative of his family in the County of Limerick, in Ireland.

In 1826 Mrs. Bradhurst was left a widow; and some eleven years

[1] Among her hearers was her grandson, the late Henry Maunsell Schieffelin, who repeated her recollections to his daughter, Mrs. Ernest Crosby, of Grasmere.

later received the news of the death, at Florence, of her brother, Mr. James Smith, who had settled there as an artist. As next of kin she became entitled to a portion of his estate, as appears from the following correspondence:

"*New York*, 31*st August*, 1837.

"*Messrs. Pickering, Smith & Thompson,*
"*London.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"We are in receipt of your letter of 20th May, 1837; the arrangement you have made to compromise with the lawyers of Madame Raphi is perfectly satisfactory to the heirs here. We herewith inclose an affidavit proving the relationship of Mrs. Bradhurst and Mrs. Stillwell to James Smith. The signer of this document, Mrs. Charity Moore, now over 90 years of age, is sister to Lady Affleck, lately deceased in London, and Lady Affleck was the mother of the present Lady Holland. We have frequently asked Mrs. Bradhurst if she was acquainted with any person who could prove this, and it was not until within a few days, she thought of Mrs. Moore. Mrs. Stillwell died during the Summer. Mrs. Bradhurst is willing to dispose of this property if it will give her £800 net:—clear of all expenses.[1] She takes your estimate for a guide. We, of course, will be guided by yourselves and Mr. Wiggin to make such arrangements as you may advise us.

"Mrs. Bradhurst is quite old, verging on 80 years;[2] what is done should be done speedily. The parties here are willing that an additional gratuity of Ten pounds sterling should be allowed to Mary Foussant, the servant of James Smith. Mr. John Clark died in June, 1836.[3] We have been endeavouring to get receipts to forward Messrs. Wiggin & Co. for the amount paid over to him. It being Summer, the parties are scattered, which has prevented. In a few days we will accomplish this."

With the copy of the above letter is a certified copy of the Deposition of Mrs. Moore:

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[1] It appears from Mrs. Bradhurst's papers that eventually the real estate of her brother, James Smith, realised more than was anticipated.

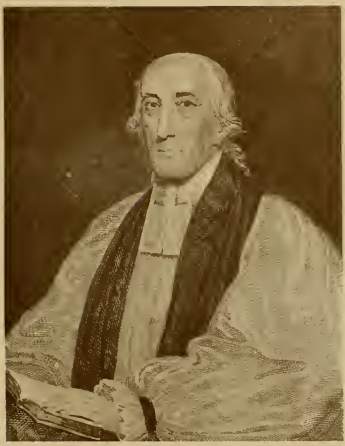
[2] Mrs. Bradhurst was then about eighty-five years of age.

[3] This Mr. John Clark was the son of Mrs. Bradhurst's sister, Catherine, and consequently a nephew also of Mr. James Smith, and of Mrs. Stillwell, referred to in the letter.

CHARITY CLARKE,

Wife of the Right Reverend Benjamin Moore, Bishop of New York

The original portrait is at Holland House



THE RIGHT REVEREND BENJAMIN MOORE, D.D.

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York

Born 5th October, 1748. Died 17th February, 1816. Aged 68

"Charity Moore, widow of the Right Reverend Benjamin Moore, late a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, for the Diocese of the State of New York, now deceased, . . . deposeth and saith that this deponent was well acquainted with Deborah Smith of the former British Province, now State, of New York, and wife of Richard Smith of England, both now deceased; that said Deborah Smith was the sister of this deponent's mother, Mary Clarke, wife of Thomas Clarke; and deponent further saith that James Smith, late of Florence, Italy, deceased; Mary Bradhurst widow of Samuel Bradhurst, late of the City of New York, Physician, deceased; Margaret Stillwell, widow of Jeremiah Stillwell, late of Washington County and State aforesaid, Gentleman, deceased; and Catherine Clark, widow of John Clark, of said Province, deceased, were the children of said Deborah and Richard Smith; that said Mary Bradhurst and Margaret Stillwell survived the said James Smith; the said Catherine Clark having died previous to the death of said James Smith, leaving children and heirs at law of her, said Catherine, living at the time of the decease of said James Smith; that said Mary Bradhurst is now living, to wit, in the City and State of New York aforesaid; that the facts above set forth are to the best of deponent's information, knowledge, and belief, and further saith not.

"Charity Moore."

To the above was added the seal and signature of a notary public, testifying that "the within Charity Moore at the time said deposition was taken was of sound mind, memory, and understanding, and under no restraint; and further that she is a highly respectable resident and inhabitant of the City of New York," and that her deposition was taken on the 5th August, 1837. Then follows the seal and signature of "R. Stewart, Vice-Consul," on behalf of "James Buchanan, His Britannick (*sic*) Majesty's Consul for the State of New York and East Jersey," in corroboration of the above notary. And, finally, the copy from which these particulars are taken (the original having been sent to London), is certified 31st August, 1837, by Charles Edwards, another notary, as being "true and full copies of the Originals now lying before him, and that such Copies are made at the request of Edwin Clark, of the City of New York, Merchant."

Mrs. Bradhurst spent her later years at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Schieffelin. She died 7th December, 1841, in the eighty-ninth year of her age,[1] leaving two daughters, Maria Theresa

[1] Mrs. Bradhurst is interred in the Schieffelin Family Vault.

(wife of Henry Hamilton Schieffelin), and Catherine Anne (married firstly to John McKesson, and secondly to H. W. Field), and one son, John Maunsell Bradhurst, of Pinehurst. Mrs. Bradhurst had some correspondence with Signor Ambrosie, of Florence, with regard to the property of her brother, James Smith, the artist, who died there. It appears from her papers, too, that she purchased most of the effects sold on the death of her sister, Margaret, Mrs. Stillwell.

John Maunsell Bradhurst administered his mother's estate, with the advice of Mr. Rensselaer Ten Broeck, her heirs including her daughter, Mrs. Field; her grandsons, Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst, William Wilmerding Bradhurst, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, Henry Maunsell Schieffelin, Samuel Bradhurst Schieffelin, James Lawrence Schieffelin, Philip Schieffelin, Sidney Augustus Schieffelin, Bradhurst Schieffelin, and Eugene Schieffelin; her granddaughters, Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst[1] and Julia Schieffelin[2]; and her granddaughters-in-law, Mary Pearsall, wife of Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst; Sarah, wife of Henry Maunsell Schieffelin, and Lucretia Hazzard, wife of Samuel Bradhurst Schieffelin.

Through her mother (*née* Stillwell), Mrs. Bradhurst was descended from that family, whose origin and name have been for so long wrapt in romantic mystery.

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[1] Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst subsequently married Mr. H. W. Field, Junior, of Palazzo delle Sette Sale, Rome, and had one surviving daughter, Elizabeth, who married Prince Brancaccio.

[2] Julia Schieffelin subsequently married Mr. Clement Remington, and had two daughters—Mary, who married, first, Mr. William Chamberlain, and secondly, Mr. O. E. Winslow; and Julia, who married, firstly, Mr. Charles Morgan, and secondly, Mr. Christopher Robert.

DESCENDANTS OF ELIZABETH VASSALL (LADY HOLLAND)

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DESCENDANTS OF ELIZABETH VASSALL (LADY HOLLAND)

Mary, or Mercy, Clarke (Lady Affleck) was the daughter of Colonel Thomas Clarke; granddaughter of Richard Stillwell by Mercy Sands; sister of Charity Clarke (wife of Bishop Moore), and of Maria Theresa Clarke (wife of the 4th Viscount Barrington); niece of Mrs. Maunsell; and cousin of Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst, and of Mrs. Prevost, who married Aaron Burr. Mary, or Mercy, Clarke married (1st) Richard Vassall, of Jamaica, by whom she had one daughter, and (2nd) Sir Gilbert Affleck, 2nd Baronet of Dalham Hall, by whom she had no issue. Her only daughter and heiress was:—

MARY ELIZABETH VASSALL
(*d.* November, 1845)
married
(1st, in 1786) Sir Godfrey WEBSTER, 4th Baronet of Battle Abbey, which marriage being dissolved by Act of Parliament, she *m.* (2nd) Henry Richard Fox, 3rd Lord Holland, who assumed the surname of Vassall

VASSALL = WEBSTER

- Sir Godfrey Vassal WEBSTER, 5th Baronet (*b.* 1789; *d.* 1836) *m.* 1814, Charlotte ADAMSON
  - WEBSTER
    - Sir Godfrey Vassal Webster, 6th Bart. Died without issue, 1853
    - Sir Augustus Frederick Webster, 7th Bart., *m.* Amelia Sophia Prosser Hastings
      - WEBSTER
        - Frederick *m.* Julia Helena Margesson
        - Guy. Died unmarried, 1868
        - Sir Augustus F. Walpole Edward Webster, 8th Bart. (*b.* 1864). He bought back Battle Abbey in 1901
        - Godfrey Vassal George Frederick Charles (*b.* 1872)
        - Amelia Sophia Rous
- Sir Henry WEBSTER, Knight (*d.* 1847) *m.* Grace BODDINGTON
  - WEBSTER
    - Henry Boddington *m.* Eleanor Georgiana Gorges
    - Charles Fox *m.* Louisa Calder
      - WEBSTER
        - Alice Eve Grace *m.* F. W. R. Ricketts
        - Evelyn Maude *m.* Hon. C. A. Denison
        - Muriel Lily *m.* E. H. Pares, of Hopwell Hall
        - Beatrice Frances May *m.* Captain L. E. Barry
- Harriet WEBSTER *m.* 1816, Admiral, the Hon. Sir Fleetwood B. R. PELLEW
  - PELLEW
    - Harriet Bettina Frances *m.* Horatio, 3rd Earl of Orford
      - WEBSTER
        - Corisande Eleanor *m.* Ferdinando Stratford Collins, of Lincoln Hill
        - Kathleen Gertrude
    - Caroline Mary
      - WALPOLE
        - Dorothy Elizabeth Mary *m.* the Duc del Balzo, Grandee of Spain of the first class
        - Maude Mary *m.* the Prince of Palagonia, Grandee of Spain of the first class
      - Constance Emma Augusta *m.* Arthur William Crichton, of Broadwood Hall
        - Mary Elizabeth Frances
        - Georgiana Caroline *m.* J. N. Fazakerley
        - Adelaide Mary Died unmarried
        - Edith Galfrida *m.* Thomas Henry Burroughes
      - WEBSTER
        - Godfrey Seymour William *m.* Ada Mary Paget, and had one daughter
        - Henry Charles Claude. Died unmarried

VASSALL = FOX

- Henry Edward, 4th and last Lord Holland *b.* 1802; *d.* 1859, when the title became extinct. He *m.* 1833, Lady Augusta Mary COVENTRY, daughter of the 8th Earl of Coventry. On her death Holland House passed to Lord Holland's kinsman, Henry Edward Fox Strangways, 5th Earl of Ilchester
- Mary Elizabeth VASSALL-FOX *m.* 1830, Thomas, 3rd Lord Lilford
  - POWYS
    - Thomas, 4th Lord Lilford, *m.* Emma Elizabeth Brandling
      - POWYS
        - Thomas Atherton
        - John
        - Stephen
    - Leopold William Henry *m.* Lady Mary Acheson
      - POWYS
        - Edith Galfrida *m.* Captain C. B. Mulville
        - Emily Marion Emma
        - Maud Blanche
        - Mary Theresa Gwendolin
        - Hilda Geraldine
        - Louise Christine
      - POWYS
        - Mervyn Owen Wayne.
        - Edward William Wayne
    - Edward Victor Robert *m.* Elizabeth Gwenllian Wayne
      - Charles James Fox *m.* Anna Charlotte Rose
      - Adelaide Mary Died unmarried
      - Georgiana Caroline *m.* J. N. Fazakerley
      - Mary Elizabeth Frances
      - Edith Galfrida *m.* Thomas Henry Burroughes
      - Constance Emma Augusta *m.* Arthur William Crichton, of Broadwood Hall
      - Caroline Mary
      - Harriet Bettina Frances *m.* Horatio, 3rd Earl of Orford
      - Henry Boddington *m.* Eleanor Georgiana Gorges
      - Charles Fox *m.* Louisa Calder
      - Sir Godfrey Vassal Webster, 6th Bart. Died without issue, 1853
      - Sir Augustus Frederick Webster, 7th Bart., *m.* Amelia Sophia Prosser Hastings
      - Frederick *m.* Julia Helena Margesson
      - Guy. Died unmarried, 1868

The Stillwell Family

story of the romantic flight of Nicholas and Abigail is untrue;—and that Richard Stillwell, not having been the son of Abigail Hopton, had no claim on the estates of Lord Hopton.

These denials are, it will at once be seen, in flat contradiction of Mr. Benjamin Marshall Stillwell's book; and if they be correct, then the letters therein quoted, in which John Cooke addresses Nicholas as "My dear *Brother*," would appear to be forgeries.

That is, however, a question for the future.

At the present date it is impossible to do more than rely upon what has until now been published; and, with this warning to the Reader, the ensuing account of the Stillwells—gleaned from such works as have already appeared—is therefore submitted with due deference.

MARGARET SMITH,*

Wife of J. Stillwell

From the portrait in the Palazzo Brancaccio,
by permission of the Duke di Lustra Brancaccio

*She was the daughter, by Deborah Stillwell, of Captain Richard Smith; and granddaughter, by Mercy Sands, of Richard Stillwell (1671–1743). It is supposed that this portrait was painted by her brother, James Smith, of Florence; and that, at her death without issue, it passed (with other effects, of which there is an Inventory in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst,) to her sister, Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst; from whom it passed to the latter's daughter, Catherine, wife of Hickson Field, Esq., Senior; and from her, to her niece, Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst, wife of Hickson Field, Esq., Junior; and thence to the latter's grandson, the present owner.

THE STILLWELL FAMILY

CHAPTER I

THE THREE BROTHERS NICHOLAS, JOHN, AND JASPER

THE Stillwell Family, which has been distinguished for nearly three centuries in the field, at the Bar, and among the delegates and representatives of fellow-citizens, is descended from two of three brothers, the history of whose early years and parentage—and even of their surname—appears to have died with them.

Nicholas, Jasper, and John—whatever their birth and station may have been—were three men of education, ability, and polished manners, as is evident from the fact that one was a courtier, and another became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.[1]

In the reign of James I. we learn that Nicholas, a zealous Protestant and withal a soldier and courtier, left England to enter the service of Frederick V., Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who, being a Protestant prince, had been elected King by the States of Bohemia, then in revolt against the Roman Catholic Emperor Ferdinand II., for the defence of their religious liberties. The Elector had an English regiment of 2,400 men, commanded by the great Sir Horatio Vere[2] (afterwards Lord Vere of Tilbury), under whom, says Burke, the greatest generals were proud to have served.[3]

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[1] The suggestion recently made that John Cooke and Nicholas Stillwell were not brothers but merely friends, is not only contrary to many family traditions, but is irreconcilable with the last letter of John Cooke—written when he was condemned to death—in which he addresses Nicholas as "My dear Brother," and speaks of the (second) wife of Nicholas (Ann Van Dyke) as "My dear Sister."

[2] Lord Vere's daughter (by Mary, daughter of Sir John Tracy, of Toddington) was the Lady Fairfax who so boldly interrupted the trial of Charles I.

[3] Among those who served under Lord Vere were such famous generals as Monk (subsequently Duke of Albemarle), and Edward, Viscount Conway (who married Dorothy Tracy, the sister of Lady Vere).

The Elector—or King of Bohemia, as he was now styled—had married the Princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., who henceforward was known as the Queen of Bohemia. Young Nicholas received an appointment which placed him among the Queen's *entourage* (some say that she brought him from England as her Page), and thus it came about that, in the intervals of his military duties, he paid court to her maid of honour, Abigail Hopton, who, with her brother Ralph, had followed in the suite of the English Princess.

Ralph Hopton and Nicholas were young men of about the same age, and the former was the heir of an old Somersetshire family, seated at Wytham in that county, and at Hopton Priory, to which estates he succeeded on the death of his father. Thrown together by their duties at a foreign court, friendship soon sprang up between these young Englishmen, and Nicholas lost his heart to Hopton's sister.

In 1620, when the news was brought of the battle of Prague—so disastrous alike to the "Winter King" of Bohemia and to the Protestant cause in that kingdom, of which he was the champion—the Queen and her ladies prepared for flight. The English gentlemen of her household gallantly formed themselves into an escort, and among them were Ralph Hopton and young Nicholas. They set out in all haste, the carriages containing the Queen and her ladies being surrounded by their mounted cavaliers. They were, however, immediately pursued, and were in danger of being overtaken on account of the bad state of the roads; whereon, perceiving their peril, the fair occupants were induced to abandon the carriages and mount the horses of their escort. The Queen herself mounted behind Ralph Hopton, whilst his sister, the maid of honour, was similarly taken care of by Nicholas, and the royal party thus escaped, reaching their destination, the town of Breslau, in safety.

The King and Queen of Bohemia took refuge in Holland, and the Spaniards at once invaded the Palatinate, and meeting with scarcely any resistance, except from Vere's Englishmen, reduced the greater part of that Principality.

Hopton and Nicholas—who was most probably serving under his real name of Cooke, or Coke, having as yet no cause for disguise—

were now among those faithful adherents who followed the ill-fated Sovereigns of Bohemia to the Netherlands. Ralph Hopton may have been prompted to some extent by a desire to see his sister, who was there still in attendance on the fugitive Queen, and the same influence doubtless guided his friend Nicholas in no less a degree. In the Queen these young people had not only an illustrious, but an accomplished patroness, for she was an artist of no mean ability[1]; and to the history of England she was destined to become of more importance even than attaches to one of its own princesses, or to the consort of the Sovereign of a foreign State, for it is through her—Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the "Queen of Hearts" as she was called—that the present reigning Sovereign of Great Britain inherits both his Stuart descent and his throne.[2]

The Elector Frederick—for as such he was generally known, although his wife continued to be designated as Queen of Bohemia—vainly sought to obtain any material help from his father-in-law, King James, who, although verbally upholding his right to the Palatinate, had from the first refused to recognize his regal title to Bohemia. The Elector, nevertheless, continued to attempt the recovery of his dominions, but his efforts were as unsuccessful as they were vigorous; his armies were repeatedly defeated, and he was finally persuaded by King James to find a pretext for disarming.

Years of stirring incident had passed since the romantic flight to Breslau, when at last Nicholas claimed the hand of Abigail Hopton, whose Royal mistress had been compelled to disperse the exile court which she had held in Holland.

Meanwhile, in England, the Queen of Bohemia's brother, Charles I., had succeeded to the throne, and had, at his coronation, made Ralph Hopton a Knight of the Bath.

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[1] At a sale held at Marks Hall, Essex, in December, 1897, there was sold a portrait (of Dorothy Honywood) painted by the Queen of Bohemia; and also one of that Queen painted by Honthorst.

[2] Of the Queen of Bohemia's ten children, Charles Lewis succeeded his father as Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the House of Orleans is descended from him; the Princes Rupert and Maurice are those so famous in the history of England's great Civil War; whilst it was through Princess Sophia, the youngest daughter, that George I. claimed the throne of Great Britain.

(Sir Ralph and his sister Abigail, the wife of Nicholas, were the children of Robert Hopton, of Wytham, Somersetshire, by Jane, daughter of Rowland Keymish, of Wardry, Monmouthshire.)

Amongst those who were the victims of the tyranny and persecution of Charles I.'s adviser, Archbishop Laud, were the Rev. Henry Whitfield and his followers. Of the latter none were more earnest and staunch than Jasper and John Cooke, the brothers of Nicholas, and they were persecuted accordingly.

When Whitfield and many of his flock were driven to seek refuge in the newly founded Colony of New Haven, Jasper and John fled to Holland, where they joined their brother Nicholas.

It is said to have been about this period that these three brothers, having exposed themselves to the intolerant abuses of the High Commission Court, and of the Star Chamber by their religious and political convictions, first sought the expediency of concealing their identity by the adoption of a watchword for the purpose of communicating with each other and with their friends.

That watchword was "STILL WELL"—a message which they agreed to send whenever either of them should succeed in finding a safe retreat.

In their long years of exile, during which they dared not avow their real names, they became known by this message, and finally found in it a safer designation than that to which they were born.

Of the several traditions concerning them, the one generally accepted—or, at least, the one which has been handed down among the descendants of Deborah Stillwell—is that they were the sons of an English country gentleman, named Cooke—the name by which John, later on, figured so conspicuously.[1] Some say that not only were their lives threatened by the misgovernment of Charles I., but that they were deprived of an old English country seat, where their father had been the squire. It has also been said that their aged mother lived to see their persecution, and that she was one of those who, in

[1] It appears probable that they were cadets of the distinguished family of Coke, founded by Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated lawyer, who was Lord Chief Justice, etc., in the reign of James I., and represented by the Earls of Leicester.

England, received that welcome message—"Still Well"—which became the surname of their descendants.[1]

There is a tradition—maintained for generations by one branch of the Stillwells—to the effect that the name originally borne by the three mysterious brothers was Stuart, and that paternally they ranked among the unacknowledged members of that Royal House, at whose hands they suffered so much in the reign of King Charles.[2]

Another tradition is that, whatever their paternity, their mother was of the family of Still, of Grantham, Lincolnshire, which removed thence to Wells, one of them, the Right Reverend John Still, having been appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells by Queen Elizabeth, in 1592. This account also relates that the name of Still-well was suggested to Nicholas and his brothers by the quips and epigrams which the wits of the day had made on the Bishop's name, Still, and his See of Bath and Wells. Thus, when in seeking for some of those springs which abound near Bath, the Bishop discovered a lead mine of considerable value, and was induced to contribute therefrom for the restoration of the Cathedral roof, Sir Arthur Hopton, his relative, who had persuaded him thereto, observed: "*Still's well*, though dry, hath *still welled* a greater stream than any of the famous springs of Bath or Wells, for it is the only one that has ever covered the roof of the Cathedral."[3]

Sir Arthur Hopton was the uncle of Sir Ralph and Abigail Hopton. The latter, having participated in the misfortunes of her Royal mistress, shared the exile of her husband, and after giving birth to two sons in Holland—Richard, born in 1634, and Nicholas, born in 1636—terminated her young and eventful life there some time before 1638, in which year her husband and his brothers, determining to free themselves from the daily fear of discovery, departed for the unknown

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[1] Some branches of the family have discarded the second "l," and spell their name, Stilwell.

[2] I do not know how this tradition is reconciled with the established fact that the name of Cooke was borne by one of the brothers, John, at the trial of Charles I. —A. M. BRADHURST.

[3] Several other anecdotes are told of the puns made on the Bishop's name. He died in 1607, and was buried in that Cathedral.

wilds of the New World, taking with them the two motherless children of Nicholas.

Not long after their arrival at New Haven the brothers separated, Jasper following his friend Whitfield to found the town of Guildford, Connecticut, where his name is recorded as one of the founders of the church, and where he died in 1656, leaving two daughters, Rebecca and Elizabeth, who married respectively James and John Graves, both of Hartford.

The brothers John and Nicholas betook themselves to Manhattan Island, in order to be under the Dutch government, rather than run the risk of discovery, even in those remote Provinces, under the Crown of England. It is thus with no little pride that their descendants can boast that they were among the very earliest English settlers in New Netherlands, and that, moreover, a portion of the lands then obtained by Nicholas and John in that Dutch Province, now the State of New York, are to this day in the possession of some branches of this family.

John settled on a beautifully situated tract of land on the eastern shore of Staten Island, which he called Dover, and which in later years was fortified by his brother Nicholas, and finally granted by the government to one of his grandsons in consideration of all that it owed to the improvements of John and Nicholas.[1]

The latter brother, on Manhattan Island, established himself as a tobacco-planter, near Turtle Bay, and called his plantation "Hopton."

But even in the American Colonies these brothers failed to find that peace and liberty which was their ideal, and which they had come so far to seek. The Dutch Director-General of the New Netherlands was soon involved in hostilities with the Indians, and John Cooke having been obliged to take refuge on Manhattan Island, determined to abandon the New World and return to Holland. Not so his brother Nicholas, to whom, as a soldier, war was not so repugnant, and who, moreover, had formed ties in the country, for he had not

[1] Dover became eventually the chief settlement on the island, but the only trace of it now (says Mr. Benjamin M. Stillwell) is in old records, where it is often mentioned, and in the road which led to it, called "Old Town Road."

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Robert HOPTON, = Jane, dau. and heiress of Rowland Kevnish, of Wardry, Monmouth
of Wytham, Somerset, brother of Sir Arthur

Sir Arthur Hopton, uncle and heir of Lord Hopton (*d.* 1650)

The aunts of Lord Hopton, heiresses of Sir Arthur Hopton, were:—

Margaret Hopton *married* Sir Baynham Throgmorton, Bart.

Catherine Hopton *married* John Windham

Mary Hopton *married* (1st) —. Harlop (2nd) Sir Henry Mackworth, Bart.

Rachel Hopton *married* —, Morgan

John Cooke, "Solicitor to the People of England" at the trial of Charles I. Lord Chief Justice of Ireland during the Commonwealth. Beheaded at Charing ✝ on the Restoration of Charles II.

Jasper, called "Stillwell" brother of John Cooke, and of Nicholas. Married and left two daughters

Nicholas, called "Stillwell," brother of John Cooke, and of Jasper. Settled in America, 1638. Died at Dover, Staten Island, 1671. He had five younger sons and two daughters

= (1st) Abigail Hopton, Maid of Honour to the Queen of Bohemia (2nd) Ann Van Dyke

Sir Ralph Hopton, created Lord Hopton, of Stratton, September, 1643; a Royalist General, known as the "Soldiers' Darling"; he was made a Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Charles I. Died 1650, leaving no issue

"Freelove," or "Mercy" = Captain Richard Stillwell (her cousin) (*b.* in Holland, 1634; *d.* at Dover, Staten Island, 1688) Justice of the West Riding of Yorkshire, including Staten and part of Long Islands

Richard Stillwell, of New York, was 4th son of the above (*b.* 1671; *d.* 1746)

= Mercy, daughter of Samuel Sands, of Sands Point, and granddaughter of Captain James Sands, of Block Island [*m.* 1712]

Richard

Samuel *married* but left no issue

Mary *married* Col. Thomas Clarke, British Officer

Deborah *married* Capt. Richard Smith, British Officer

Catherine *married* Rev. Richard Pemberton. No issue

Anne *married* (1st) Theodosius Bartow (2nd) Captain Philip de Visme British Officer

Elizabeth *married* (1st) Capt. Wraxall, British Officer (2nd) Lieut.-General John Maunsell, British Officer. No issue

Lydia *married* John Watkins, of New York

—Mary Watkins, unmarried

—Elizabeth Watkins *m.*—. Dunkin

—Lydia Watkins *m.* (1st) Capt. Drew, and (2nd) James Beekman. No issue

—John Maunsell Watkins *m.* Judith, dau. of Governor Livingston

—Samuel, of Watkins Glen, married, but no issue

—Charles Watkins *m.* Susan Marshall

—Catherine de Visme *m.* Joseph Browne

—Eliza de Visme *m.* —. Duval

—Philip de Visme

—Peter de Visme

—Samuel de Visme

—Theodosia Bartow *m.* (1st) Col. Prevost, and (2nd) Col. Burr

—Mary *m.* Samuel Bradhurst

—Catherine *m.* John Clark

—Margaret *m.* her cousin, J. Stillwell. No issue.

—James (an artist), unmarried

—John, Reverend, lived in England

—Samuel

Mary *m.* (1st) Richard Vassall, and (2nd) Sir Gilbert Affleck, Bart., of Dalham, Suffolk

—Maria Theresa *m.* Viscount Barrington. No issue

—Charity *m.* Bishop Moore, of New York

—Clement, unmarried

—Thomas *m.* ——— ? ———

—Mary

—John

—Richard

Anne Dunkin *m.* J. S. Van Rensselaer, of Albany, and left issue

—Susan Watkins *m.* Hammersley

Lydia Watkins *m.* Beebe

—Charles Watkins

—John Watkins

Charlotte Watkins *m.* John Lewis. Left issue

Anne Maria Watkins, unmarried

—Susan Watkins *m.* —. Williamson

Elizabeth Watkins, unmarried

—Lydia Watkins *m.* D. Tuttle. Left issue

Catherine Browne *m.* —. Wescott. Left issue.

Anne Duval

Louis Duval

Francis Duval

—Henry Duval

Theodosia Burr *m.* J. Alston, Governor of South Carolina —— Aaron Burr Alston Mysteriously lost at the age of ten with his Mother, in 1812

Anne Louise

—Mary Louise (died young)

—John Bartow Prevost, left descendants

Augustine James Frederick Prevost

Catherine Anne *m.* (1st) John McKesson, and (2nd) Hickson Field. No issue

Maria Theresa *m.* Henry Hamilton Schieffelin Left issue

—Elizabeth Bradhurst, died unmarried

John Maunsell Bradhurst, of Pinehurst, *m.* Elizabeth, dau. of Christian Wilhelm Wilmerding, of Brunswick, Germany, by Catherine von Falkenhahn, and left issue

—John Clark, married and left issue

—Thomas Clark, married, no issue

—Richard Clark, married

Elizabeth Vassall *m.* (1st) Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart., and (2nd) Henry Richard Fox, 3rd Lord Holland. Left issue by both marriages

—Clement Moore (poet)

—Charity Clarke

—Mary Clarke

—Thomas Clarke, left issue

—Samuel Clarke, left issue

—Clement Clarke

only his plantation and the welfare of his two young sons by Abigail Hopton to consider, but he had married, as his second wife, a Dutch lady, named Ann Van Dyke, who had come from Holland. So it came about that the brothers separated—never to meet again. From this time their careers were as widely different as the countries they dwelt in. Although at first Nicholas was not looked on with favour by the Director-General Kieft, on account of his friendliness with the Indians, he soon became one of the most important and influential men in the Dutch colony, and his name figures prominently in the old records of the Councils and Indian wars of the New Netherlands. The military training which he had acquired in the Elector Frederick's Bohemian campaigns, now stood him in good stead, with the result that he and the company of volunteers which he had formed of the English settlers near "Hopton," were constantly appealed to for assistance and support. He acquired a bowerie between "where they cross the water over the stones" (East 34th Street), and "where the beech tree lays over the water" (East 47th Street), and extending from the East River to an Indian trail, which was later called the Old Boston Post Road. Here he built that "Old Stone House," which, a century and a half later, having been enlarged and converted into a military magazine, was captured in 1775 by the "Sons of Liberty."

Space forbids us here to dwell upon the details of all the important colonial matters in which Nicholas took a leading part, especially in the wars in which the colonists became engaged with the natives; nor can we here describe the immense properties which he possessed on Staten and Manhattan Islands, a portion of which was situated in the very heart of modern New York (near Broadway and Broad Street), under the protection of the "Fort Amsterdam" of his day. The subject has already been most interestingly dealt with in the *Life and Times of Nicholas Stillwell*, by his descendant Benjamin Marshall Stillwell.

The military renown of Nicholas caused him not only to be appointed by the Dutch Director-General as his lieutenant in times of trouble, but gained for him a cordial welcome from Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, when, having bravely assisted to quell the Indians in New Netherlands, Nicholas offered his services

for a similar purpose to the Virginians, his countrymen. He was placed at a fort on the York River in command of a troop; and afterwards joined Sir William Berkeley at West Point, whence they proceeded to attack the place of retreat of the aged and powerful Indian king, Ope-chan-ca-nagh, the bitter enemy of white men, the successor of the "great Emperor," Powhattan. Nicholas seized the king, and carrying him off bodily on his shoulders to his own camp, thus dealt the death-blow to the long-dreaded anti-white confederacy among the Indian tribes.

The echoes of the great Civil War in England had now reached the Colonies, and the Virginians being mostly Royalists, Nicholas had no sympathy with them, being opposed to a form of government from which he and his family had suffered such persecution. To rid his countrymen of their barbaric foes was one thing; but to uphold King Charles, with all the attendant miseries of the High Commission Court and of the Star Chamber was another. Therefore, after having so materially helped to free Virginia from the harass of the Indians, he secretly withdrew from that Province, and hastened to the assistance of his Parliamentarian friends in Maryland, who had lately ousted the Royal Governor there. Nicholas brought with him a company of his own veterans to keep the Royalists at bay, and he remained in Maryland until his assistance was no longer required.

While Nicholas—no longer "Nicholas, the tobacco-planter of Hopton," as he was styled 24th November, 1639 (the year after his emigration) in the Dutch Archives still to be seen at Albany—now known by that message which had become his adopted name, as "Lieutenant Nicholas Stillwell," was gaining for himself a high reputation in the early annals of both Dutch and English Colonies, his brother, John Cooke, and his brother-in-law, Sir Ralph Hopton, were becoming no less famous in the history of England.

The latter having represented Wells in Parliament, in 1642, took up arms in the Royal cause, and became one of the most zealous and celebrated supporters of Charles I. He served with distinction at Sherborne Castle, Launceston, Saltash, and Bradock, and finally achieved a victory over the Parliamentarians at Stratton, in Cornwall, whereupon, in consideration of his gallant conduct, he was created Baron Hopton, of Stratton, 4th September, 1643, with remainder, in

default of male issue, to his uncle, Sir Arthur Hopton and his heirs male.[1]

Lord Hopton was as popular with those under him as with those above him, and was commonly known in the Royal Army as the "Soldiers' Darling." He was, later, appointed General of the Ordnance, in the King's Armies "throughout the whole realm of England, and dominion of Wales."

[1] Lord Hopton married Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Capel, of Hadham, Herefordshire, and widow of Sir Justinian Leven, Knight, but having no issue, and his uncle, Sir Arthur Hopton, having predeceased him without male heirs, the title became extinct on his lordship's death.

CHAPTER II

THE REGICIDE

JOHN COOKE, meanwhile, had, since his return to Holland from America, been still obliged to find shelter under foreign governments from the inveterate animosity of Laud and others who had King Charles's ear. Once, indeed, John Cooke is said to have briefly visited England, but, as he appeared under his own name, and as this was before the actual outbreak of the Civil War, he found it too unsafe to remain.

He passed some years in wandering about Europe, and, in the *Memoirs* of Ludlow, we read that "while in Rome, John Cooke spoke with such liberty and ability against the corruptions of the Court and Church, that great endeavours were used to bring him into that interest; but he, being resolved not to yield to their solicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them, and therefore departed for Geneva, where he resided some time in the house of Signor Gio. Deodati, the minister of the Italian church in that city, and the learned friend of Milton." [1]

Returning again to Holland, John Cooke (or Coke?) learned the welcome news of the fall of his arch-enemy, Archbishop Laud, and so with Hugh Peters, and other exiles, he ventured again to appear in his native land.

Admitted to Gray's Inn, and called to the Bar, he soon earned a reputation not only as a zealous Parliamentarian, but as an able barrister, and as such became the friend of John Bradshaw. Whilst of those followers of Whitfield with whom he had formerly been

[1] John Diodati, a famous theologian at Geneva, had a nephew, Charles Diodati, who also was an intimate friend of Milton, having been a schoolfellow of his own age. With Charles, who entered Trinity College, Oxford, in February, 1622-3, Milton kept up an affectionate correspondence. Charles Diodati died in August, 1638.

associated, he now became on intimate terms with Oliver Cromwell. With such friends to foster the recollection of his wrongs, and of those of his brothers, and with his convictions strengthened and confirmed by the course of conduct adopted by the King, Cooke soon became actively involved in the great struggle at issue.

His cousin was that Major Harrison who, when the King was a prisoner in Hurst Castle, arrived there in command of a troop, on the night of the 17th December, 1648, with orders to conduct Charles to Windsor. The latter was greatly agitated, having been told that Harrison was a man sent to assassinate him. So impressed, however, was he by the major's soldierly appearance, that he informed him of the unworthy suspicions which he had entertained. Harrison, in his buff coat and scarf of crimson silk, plainly answered him "that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the Parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention; and assured him that whatever the Parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence."

On the 19th January Major Harrison and his troop escorted a coach drawn by six horses, in which sat the King, from Windsor to Whitehall; and on the following day, Charles, in his sedan chair, was conveyed to Westminster Hall.

Of the 133 members nominally composing the Commons, there were but sixty-nine who had the courage to be present, many deeming it wiser to absent themselves, and some declaring that though in favour of a Republic, they did not approve of bringing the King to trial. When the names were called over, and the crier uttered the name of Fairfax, a voice from among the spectators replied: "He has more wit than to be here!"

The interruption was ignored, and John Bradshaw, as President, ordered the serjeant to bring in the prisoner.

The King entered, and silently took his seat without removing his hat, whilst the sixty-nine also remained covered, and did not rise. Immediately in front of the chair prepared for him, was the table at which sat the clerks of the Court, Broughton and Phelps, facing him. Behind them, on raised seats, were the Lord President, Bradshaw,

and his assistants, Lisle and Say, on his right and left; whilst on either side of, and behind these again, was a throng of which the most notable figures were Cromwell, Marten, Ireton, and Harrison—the cousin of John Cooke and of Nicholas Stillwell—the two former sitting in the background beneath the Arms of the Commonwealth—the Cross of St. George and the Harp of Ireland.

On the King's right, and close to him, was John Cooke,[1] who appeared as Solicitor-General for the People of England, and after him were Dorislaus and Aske, the Junior Counsellors.

The King carefully scanned the countenances of those present, and, "with a quick eye and gesture, he turned himself about, noting not only those who were on each side of the court, but even the spectators who were in the hall."

When the President, Bradshaw, spoke the words, "In the name of the People of England," the same voice from the gallery—a woman's—again interrupted, exclaiming, "'Tis a lie—not one half of them!" All eyes were turned in the direction whence this voice proceeded, where there stood a group of masked ladies. The officer of the guard bade his men "fire into the box where she sits," but they paid no heed to this brutal order, and, amid profound silence, Lady Fairfax—for she it was who dared so much—rose and withdrew. Although her husband was distinguished in the army of the Parliament, she was a Royalist, and came of the house of De Vere, of which Macaulay wrote that it was the "longest and most illustrious line of nobles that England has seen";[2] she was the daughter (by Mary, sister of the first

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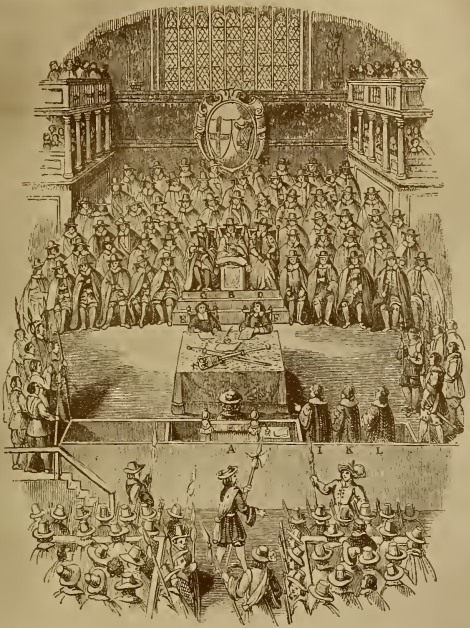
[1] The name of the "Solicitor for the People of England" is spelt "Cook" by Hume, as it also is by Miss Strickland in her account of Queen Henrietta Maria, in the *Lives of the Queens of England;* other writers generally spell it "Cooke"; but in Collier's *History of the British Empire* the name of the "Chief Solicitor for the Nation" is written "Coke," and thus, too, it appears in a report of the trial by Nelson (1684), "an eye and ear witness of what he heard and saw there." Charles Knight, however, in his *Popular History of England*, spells the name indifferently both "Coke" and "Cook." It seems not improbable (for various reasons) that, whilst "Cook" is the correct pronunciation, the correct spelling is "Coke."—A. M. Bradhurst.

[2] The De Veres, Earls of Oxford, Hereditary Great Chamberlains and Premier Earls of England, built and endowed, in the Eleventh century, the Priory of Colne,



Trial of Charles I. (From a Print in Nalson's Report of the Trial, 1684.)
A, the King. B, the Lord President Bradshaw. C, John Lisle; D, William Say; Bradshaw's assistants. E, Andrew Broughton; F, John Phelps; clerks of the court. G, Oliver Cromwell; H, Henry Marten; the Arms of the Commonwealth over them. I, Coke; K, Dorislaus; L, Aske; Counsellors for the Commonwealth. The description of the plate ends with these words:—"The pageant of this mock tribunal is thus represented to your view by an eye and ear-witness of what he heard and saw there."

TRIAL OF CHARLES I.

Viscount Tracy) of that great general, Lord Vere of Tilbury, under whom Nicholas Stillwell had served in the campaigns of the Elector Frederick.

. John Cooke read the arraignment; and when he said "that the King was indicted in the name of the Commons and the People of England," the King attempted to interrupt him; but the Solicitor read on—"that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and intrusted with a limited power, yet nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical Government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people whom they represented."

Charles, unaccustomed to being thus ignored, and still wishing to attract the lawyer's attention, stretched out his gold-headed cane and touched Cooke lightly on the shoulder. For a moment the voice of the latter wavered; he hesitated—he paused—and their eyes met. They gazed earnestly and fully into each other's depths, the proud and faithless monarch, and the ruined and embittered exile—the royal patron of Laud, and the victim of Laud's persecutions—the King who was intolerant of religious liberty, and the man who scorned to hide his convictions—the Sovereign who would govern with a Star Chamber but without a Parliament, and the lawyer to whom such tyrannies were abhorrent.

The look which they exchanged lasted but a few seconds, but in that time the gold head of the King's cane fell off, and this petty incident is said to have made a deep impression on the superstitious minds of those present, including the King himself, who afterwards confessed to the Bishop of London that he was much shocked by this ill omen. He, however, took it up with an unconcerned air, as the accusing voice of "the said John Cooke did, for the said treason and crimes, on behalf of the People of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor"—(at these words the King laughed

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in Essex, where many of them were buried, and where their monuments may yet be seen. (The Tracys are descended from Juliana De Vere, sister of Aubrey, first Earl of Oxford; and the Smyths, extinct Baronets, of Berechurch Hall, Essex, were descended from Lady Joane de Vere, daughter of the 5th Earl of Oxford, a Crusader, whose monument, dated 1296, is at Colne Priory.)

scornfully)—"murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England."

"Coke, the Solicitor-General," says Knight, "demanded whether the Court would proceed to pronouncing sentence; and the members adjourned to the Painted Chamber."

The further details of this great drama must be received with caution, since many of the accounts of it were written after the restoration of Charles II., and are, therefore, highly coloured.

Soon after the execution of Charles I., John Cooke wrote and published a book, entitled "*Monarchy, no creature of God's making*—in which it is proved that the execution of the late King was one of the fattest sacrifices that Queen Justice ever had."

This work, and the letters which he wrote when in prison, and the declarations which he made at his trial, and after his condemnation, and upon the scaffold itself, sufficiently disprove the tale invented by the malice of Charles II.'s chroniclers, to the effect that John Cooke's conscience so troubled him for the part he had taken in the King's trial, that, "though he was a Judge, he could not absolve himself, but upon the very bench would fall into strange sighs and groans, and break out into this lamentation—'Oh, poor Charles! poor Charles!'"

Under the Commonwealth one of the first acts of Parliament was to acknowledge the services which John Cooke (or Coke) had rendered it, by passing a vote of thanks to him, and by granting him three hundred pounds per annum in the County of Wexford, in Ireland, with the appointment of Lord Chief Justice there. Not long afterwards Parliament made him a further grant—in consideration of the losses which he had suffered in its cause—of the lands of St. Cross, near Winchester, which at that period were worth a thousand pounds a year.

Whilst John Cooke—under that name—thus rose to importance among the Parliamentary leaders, his brother Nicholas Stillwell, having brought to a successful issue his military exploits in Virginia and Maryland, had returned, after an absence of about two years, to the New Netherlands to his family, who were occupying his house on the north side of the Beaver Graft. Thence Nicholas took his wife and children back to his plantation on Turtle Bay, where he remained until the arrival of the new Director-General, Stuyvesant, when he

moved again to New Amsterdam, acquiring a house in "Smith's Valley," near the corner of the present Maiden Lane and Pearl Street. In 1648 he settled at Gravenzande, and in the following January, the very month which witnessed the execution of Charles I., he was chosen to be one of the first magistrates for that town.

The change of government in England, and the consequently altered fortunes of the Lord Justice Cooke, do not seem to have affected the determination of his brother to stay in the land of his adoption, and to retain the name by which he was there known, for on the 16th October, 1649, "Lieftenant Nicholas Stilwell bargained and agreed with George Homes for his whole plantation, for ye use of his sonne Richard Stilwell,"[1] as appears in the old record of that date, and that "plantation" has remained in the family ever since. Richard Stillwell, who was then only sixteen years of age, was the eldest son of Nicholas by Abigail Hopton.

When war broke out between England and Holland, many of the Dutch and English colonists were anxious if possible to avoid being involved in hostilities, and among these was Governor Stuyvesant, who therefore entrusted Nicholas Stillwell, as his lieutenant, to keep peace and order among the settlers at Gravenzande. Likewise in the trouble with the Indians, the Governor sought and obtained the support of Stillwell and his volunteers; and the latter, although always ready to avenge the wrongs of the white man, was so just and fearless in his dealings with the natives that he acquired great influence among them. Thus when one, Anthony Jansen Von Salee, the first settler on the south of Long Island, was terrified by the rumours of an Indian attack, Nicholas did not hesitate to exchange properties with him, and to move from within the palisades of Gravenzande to the Dutchman's lonely and distant bowery. And when the Director and Council found it necessary to order distant settlers to abandon their isolated abodes and seek the shelter of fortified places, Nicholas Stillwell replied that he required no other assistance in the defence of his possessions than his own family and servants. The Director and Council thereupon made a special order allowing him to remain upon

[1] The spelling of the name of Stillwell in this record was probably as incorrect as that of *Holmes*, or as that of the word *Lieutenant*.

his lands as he chose; and he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Sheriff of the Dutch possessions on Long Island, his second son, Nicholas Stillwell, junior, succeeding him in the magistracy of Gravenzande.

About this time news of great moment reached them from England: the death of Oliver Cromwell; the flight of Prince Charles from Brussels to Breda; the meeting of that irregular Parliament, called the Convention Parliament, of which Sir Harbottle Grimston was Speaker; the message which it received with enthusiasm from Charles, known as the Declaration of Breda, in which, among other fair promises, he "offered a general amnesty, without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by Parliament";[1] the acclamations with which he entered London on his birthday (29th May, 1660); and the exceptions which Charles II. at once made to his general pardon, with the consequent trial and condemnation of the regicides. "Those who had an immediate hand in the late King's death were excepted in the act of indemnity," and "all who had sat in any illegal High Court of Justice were disabled from bearing offices."[1] John Cooke, who had acted as Solicitor for the Prosecution at the trial of Charles I., and had been Lord Chief Justice of Ireland during the Commonwealth, came under both these categories.

The proclamation of Charles said that unless those who had sat in judgment on the late King, yielded themselves prisoners within fourteen days, they should receive no pardon. Twenty-five of them, including Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were dead; nineteen made good their escape to foreign countries; nineteen surrendered within the specified time; and ten of the most prominent, not trusting the clemency which was hinted at in this proclamation, attempted flight but were captured, amongst them John Cooke.

He was deprived of his honours, stripped of his lands and fortune, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he was detained four months, whilst the King and his supporters did their utmost to persuade the more temperate among the Commons to add to the list of those who should be tried as regicides. It was not until the month

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[1] Hume's *History of England.*

JOHN COOK.

Executed at Charing Cross, 1660
October 16th

of October, during the recess of Parliament, that the great public trial took place before a Court of thirty-four specially chosen Commissioners.

On the 14th October, 1660, John Cooke—the late Lord Chief Justice of Ireland—was tried at the Old Bailey, and when called upon to defend himself, he stated that he had acted according to his conscience and judgment in obeying the order of the Parliament which he served, and in exercising his profession as a Barrister on behalf of his clients, the People of England.

He was immediately found guilty and sentenced to death.

In fact all the twenty-nine persons brought to trial as traitors were convicted; but the nineteen who had surrendered according to the proclamation had their lives spared, and were imprisoned for life. The ten who had attempted flight were all condemned to be executed: these were Cooke, who had pleaded the Cause of English Liberty; Harrison, his cousin, who had signed the death warrant of Charles I.; Scott, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scroop, who were five more of the judges; Axtel, who had guarded the court of justice; Hacker, an officer in command on the day of the King's execution; and Hugh Peters, the famous fanatical preacher.

Two days later, on the 16th of October, John Cooke was dragged from Newgate to Charing Cross on a hurdle, on which, facing him, was fixed the bloody head of his cousin, General Harrison, who had been executed the previous day. With this ghastly spectacle before him, Cooke "passed through the streets rejoicingly, as one borne up by that spirit which men cannot cast down."

In the same spirit he ascended the scaffold under the very eyes of Charles II., to whom "it is not creditable," says Knight, "that he was a spectator of these scenes." Cooke knelt for a few moments in prayer, and then, having given some words of encouragement to Hugh Peters, who was the next to be executed, turned calmly to the Sheriff and spectators, and addressed them as follows in an unskaken voice:

"Mr. Sheriff and gentlemen, the most glorious sight that was ever seen in the world was our Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross; and the most glorious sight next to that is to see any poor creature suffer for Him in His cause. I desire to speak a few words, briefly, to let you know what a glorious work the Lord has been pleased to accomplish

upon my spirit. I bless the Lord that I have ransacked into every corner of my heart, and have searched into all my sins, so far as the Lord has discovered them to me, and I have confessed them all with a penitential and bleeding heart, and a contrite spirit. . . .

"I can truly say that I have always endeavoured in my place, and to my power, to do that which might be to God's glory, to the best of my understanding. I have stood up for a gospel magistracy and ministry; and that the delays in the law might be removed, and justice speedily and cheaply administered; and for liberty of conscience, that all might walk humbly, but boldly before the Lord.

"As to that I have been charged with, I do confess, I am not convinced that I have done amiss, and I desire never to repent of anything I have done therein, and I am here to bear witness to my faith."

At these bold words the Sheriff interrupted him in gross terms, whereupon John Cooke replied:

"It hath not hitherto been the manner of Englishmen to insult a dying man, nor in other countries, not even among the Turks. . . . I bless the Lord that I have nothing on my conscience. I have endeavoured to do nothing but with a good conscience."

When the Sheriff again interrupted him, he said: "If you will believe the words of a dying man, I say, as I must soon render an account, I have nothing upon my conscience. I have a poor wife and child and some friends left. I desire you, that came along with me, to commend to them Isaiah, fifty-fourth chapter, fifth and tenth verses. The Lord knows I have no malice against any man or woman living, neither against the jury that found me guilty, nor the Court that passed sentence upon me. I freely forgive them all from the bottom of my heart. I shall speak a few words to the Lord in prayer, and shall not trouble you further."

Amidst the hushed silence of all, the condemned man offered up his last prayer aloud:

"Most Glorious Majesty! I beseech Thee to warm my heart, and fill it so full with the love of Jesus Christ, it may never be cool any more. Oh, that the Lord would now appear graciously to show Himself a wonder-working God, in bearing up the heart and spirit of His poor creature. It is no matter how bitter the cup is, if the Lord

gives strength to drink it. It is no matter how heavy the burthen is, for the Lord will lay no more upon His poor children than they are able to bear.

"The Lord give strength to all that are yet to suffer in this cause. If they did pursue power or interest, and did not look after the good of God's poor people, or the good of the nation, the Lord forgive them. The Lord knows the simplicity of the hearts of His poor servants. Help them to continue faithful unto death, so that we may receive a crown of life, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"Lord hear me for my poor wife and child. Unto Thee I commend them; and so I come, Lord Jesus. Oh, receive my soul! Into Thy hands I commit my spirit. Blessed be Thy Name!

"Methinks I see, with Stephen, even by the eye of faith, Heaven open, and the Lord Jesus ready to receive my soul! Oh, that I might, with Ezekiel, see the glory of God! and with Isaiah, see the Lord sitting on the Throne of His Glory! And oh, that the love of the Father, Son, and Spirit may warm my heart, and carry me up from the beginning of this passage, to the end and close of it!

"Lord, let it be well with England. When Elijah was taken away, his spirit rested on Elisha, who stood up in his stead; and when John the Baptist was cut off, the Lord had His apostles to supply that office. The Lord will have profit in the death of His children.

"As for those that brought me hither, Lord forgive them. May the blessing of the Father, Son, and Spirit be with them—and, oh, that no more might suffer!

"And so, dear and blessed Father, I come to the bosom of Thy love, and desire to enter into Thy glory, which is endless and boundless, through Jesus Christ."

With these last words upon his lips, John Cooke faced his grim death, as he had lived, steadfast, and devout, too true to his beliefs to turn from the thorny path of his principles, too scornful of evasion and subterfuge to shelter himself by such means. A regicide—but one who, throughout his life, and in his last words, sufficiently proved the sincerity and conscientiousness which actuated him even in that great part for which partial writers have hurled at him all the most opprobrious epithets, as being one of the "murtherers of his most sacred Majesty, King Charles the First, of glorious memory." These biassed

chroniclers might, perhaps, have had more weight had they contented themselves with dubbing him "a misguided man"; but even such a criticism would not pass unchallenged by the light of a later century. To his honour be it said, that those very writers have failed to bring any charge against his upright character, or his ability and learning as Chief Justice.

His head was exposed on a pike in front of Westminster Hall, and his body was quartered, and the pieces displayed upon the gates of the city of London.

Evelyn wrote on the 17th October, 1660: "Scott, Scroop, Cook, and Jones, suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural prince, and in the presence of the King his son, whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle."

"These men died in the belief that they unjustly suffered for the discharge of a great public duty. In their strong religious principles, which approached to the enthusiasm of martyrs, in Harrison especially, they found support under the cruelties of the old law of treason, which was executed to the minutest point of its brutality."[1]

In the long interval between his arrest and trial, John Cooke wrote many letters from his prison, showing how proud he was to have taken part in the vindication of the rights of the people, and that for their rights and liberties he would readily lay down his life. One, which he wrote from Newgate, a few hours before his execution, to his little daughter—his only surviving child—and which is now the treasured heirloom of her descendants, runs as follows:

"My Dear, sweet Child,

"So soon as God gives thee any understanding, know that thou art the child of one whom God counted worthy to suffer for His sake, and to seal to the truth of his law and gospel with his blood; which will be a great honour to thee, in the judgment of all that truly love and fear God.

"Know that thy dear father has gone to Heaven to thy dear

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[1] Knight.

brother,[1] and be sure so to live that by God's grace thou may'st follow after. I leave thee to the Lord, who, I know, will take care of thee and be thy portion, so thou shalt never want. So I leave God's blessing with thee, and rest

"Thy dear and loving father,
"JOHN COOKE."

He had for many years belonged to the sect known as the Anabaptists, who did not hold with the baptism of infants, and his little daughter was therefore *called*—not baptised—by the name of Free-love. His wife (whose name we do not know) appears to have survived his execution but a short time, leaving the little orphan girl to friends, by whom she was conveyed from a land where she was regarded as the daughter of one of the detested regicides, to her uncle Nicholas, in the New World, where she was received as the child of one who had sacrificed his life to free a nation from oppression and tyranny.

The first intimation which Nicholas Stillwell received of his brother's fate was the latter's letter written from Newgate, on the day intervening between his condemnation and his execution.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,
"I am condemned to die, and this is my cordial farewell to you from my Jeremiah's prison,"

were the opening words of this letter, in which, after stating that his execution was fixed for the following day, and after giving some particulars of his trial, John Cooke proceeds to say that it is his intention to bear witness on the scaffold itself to his Cause and Belief, and he concludes with the words:

"I can at present only leave my dear love and respects for you and my dear sister,[2] beseeching God, and not doubting, but that we shall shortly meet in eternal glory. Company so spends me, that I can

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[1] From these words it seems that John Cooke had had a son who predeceased him.

[2] The "sister" to whom he refers was his sister-in-law, Ann Van Dyke, the second wife of Nicholas.

write no more. I shall suddenly enter into the joy of the Lord. O blessed be His Name; blessed be the Comforter.

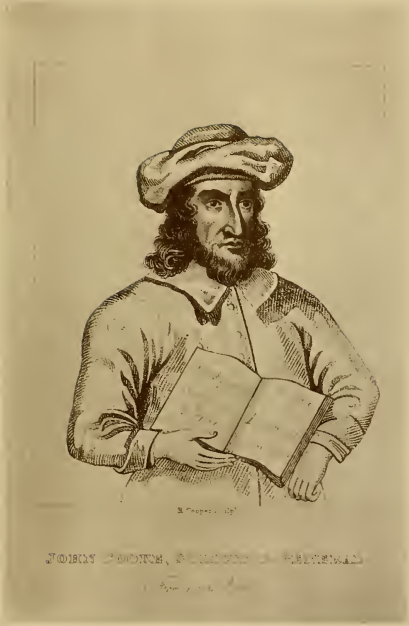
"My soul is full of consolation. Farewell! farewell! farewell! I will meet you in Paradise.

"Yours for ever,

"JOHN COOKE."

In the ensuing years of the Restoration every possible opprobrium and contumely were hurled at the names and memories of the Regicides, and of John Cooke a caricature was printed in which he was ridiculed with the long locks of a cavalier, and an open book containing the words: "*Doctrina Libertinorum et Quakeorum de Regno . . . Pietas et Paupertas simulat*"!

But how little this malicious caricature resembled him can be judged by comparing it with the picture of him in which he appears surrounded by skulls and cross-bones, with representations of his being dragged on a hurdle and of his execution, whilst in the four corners Temple Bar, Charing Cross, the Tower, and Whitehall (?) appear—thus quaintly comprising all the gruesome details of his last scenes and sufferings.



CHAPTER III

"NICHOLAS THE PLANTER"

In due course Nicholas learnt that, whilst in prison, his brother had tried to provide for his wife and child, maintaining that, although they might suffer by his attainder, they could not be deprived of his Irish estates, except by a special Act of Parliament.

Therefore, to save the widow and her little girl from the poverty to which they would be reduced by the confiscation of those lands, Nicholas determined to send his eldest son, Richard, to England, with letters to friends and relatives, who would recognise in young Stillwell the son of one whom they had known by another name, as well as the nephew of Lord Hopton, who had rendered such signal services to Charles I. Nicholas, moreover, entertained a hope that, with the Restoration of the Monarchy, his son might succeed in obtaining, at least, a portion of Lord Hopton's estates; for that nobleman had died during the Commonwealth, in 1652, in exile at Bruges, when his Barony had become extinct, and the Hopton estates had been divided between his aunts, to the exclusion of his nephew, Richard Stillwell.

This injustice was perhaps partly due to the fact that Lord Hopton's uncle, Sir Arthur Hopton, to whom the title was in remainder, had predeceased his distinguished nephew without issue; partly, too, because the sons of Abigail, Lord Hopton's only sister, were lost sight of in America under their father's assumed name of Stillwell; and, above all, because they were not only Lord Hopton's nephews, but also the nephews of John Cooke, the Regicide. But, however it came about, certain it is that, at the Restoration, the heirs of Lord Hopton, of Stratton, were declared to be his aunts, the four sisters of the late Sir Arthur Hopton. These ladies[1] were, Rachel,

[1] These ladies have been sometimes erroneously described as the sisters, instead of the aunts, of Ralph, Lord Hopton; but his only sister was Abigail, the wife of Nicholas Stillwell; the error, doubtless, arose from their succession to their nephew's

who married a Mr. Morgan;[1] Mary, who first married a Mr. Hartop, and secondly Sir Henry Mackworth, 2nd Baronet of Normanton;[2] Catherine, whose husband was John Windham; and Margaret, wife of Sir Baynham Throckmorton, 2nd Baronet of Tortworth.[3]

One of the chief persons in England upon whose friendship and influence Nicholas had counted for his son was Elizabeth, the ex-Queen of Bohemia, who had returned to England on the restoration of her nephew King Charles II. With an introduction to this royal lady—whom his parents, and his uncle, Ralph Hopton, had served so faithfully in years gone by—and with a claim on the King's favour as Lord Hopton's nephew and rightful representative, Richard Stillwell departed for his native land; and under such auspices presented himself at Court as the scion of a noble house.

But the hopes of his father had probably made no allowance for the difference between the Courts of James I. and of Charles II.; and Nicholas, after so many years of absence in America, could scarcely have realised the changes which had taken place, or been aware of how altered was the position of the Queen of Bohemia at her nephew's Court, to that which she had held during the reigns of her father and brother. It was but natural that she should welcome

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property. Of their two brothers, the elder was the father of Lord Hopton and of Abigail Stillwell, and the younger was Sir Arthur Hopton, Knight. Lord Hopton and Sir Arthur both died without issue; the former being the last of his family, which was of Norman origin.

[1] Rachel Hopton had a son, Charles Morgan, whose widow, Catherine, married, secondly, Nicholas, younger son of Nicholas Stillwell and Abigail Hopton.

[2] The Mackworths of Normanton are mentioned in Burke's *Vicissitudes of Families*. This Baronetcy expired in 1803 (Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*).

[3] The Baronetcy of Throckmorton (or Throgmorton, as it is sometimes written) of Tortworth is extinct. Sir Baynham Throckmorton's stepmother (wife of Sir William Throckmorton, 1st Baronet of Tortworth) was Alice Morgan. Another Alice Throckmorton married Thomas Stillwell, a grandson of Nicholas Stillwell and Abigail Hopton. An ancestor of the Throckmortons and an ancestor of the Tracys had married sisters, the two daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Guy de la Spineto, Lord of Coughton, *temp.* Henry V. Coughton Court is still in the possession of the elder branch of the Throckmortons (Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, Tracy MSS., etc.). The Tracys and Throckmortons subsequently intermarried more than once.

young Stillwell, the son of Nicholas, who had fought for her husband, and of Abigail Hopton, her devoted maid of honour, and the nephew of him with whom she had escaped after the battle of Prague; but it was scarcely to be expected that the King would so far remember the services of Lord Hopton as to overlook the fact that Richard Stillwell was also the nephew of John Cooke, whose mangled remains he had viewed with vengeance.

Moreover, however much the widowed Queen of Bohemia might exert her influence as the King's aunt, that influence was doubtless less powerful than Nicholas Stillwell still imagined it to be. Her acceptance of Lord Craven's offer of his splendid house in London had given rise to some scandal among the gossips of the Court, and it was even whispered that she had incurred the King's displeasure by a secret marriage with that nobleman, but that Charles II. was so heavily in his lordship's debt, that he could do no more than forbid the open announcement of so unequal an alliance.[1]

In London, Richard Stillwell, who was about twenty-six years of age, appeared among the great persons who had formerly been his father's friends, in somewhat the same way as Thackeray's "Virginians" are represented to have done at a later period. He had married at the age of twenty-one—1st May, 1655—Mary, daughter of Obadiah Holmes, of Salem; but she having died without issue, he married secondly his young cousin, Freelove Cooke, who on being baptized took the name of Mercy; and this alliance with the daughter of his uncle, the Regicide, probably lost him the influence of many of the powerful but prejudiced persons of that time. The Queen of Bohemia died in 1662, two years after the restoration of her nephew, in her sixty-sixth year.

Nicholas Stillwell, meanwhile, who, with his English Volunteers, had become so celebrated in the Colonies, again in 1663 rendered

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[1] Whether the Queen of Bohemia was privately married to Lord Craven cannot be said; but whatever foundation the scandal-mongers had for such a story, Charles II. seems to have disapproved of her remaining under Lord Craven's roof, and the latter is always said to have died unmarried, some thirty-five years after the death of the Queen, when his Barony passed to a cousin. He was the Queen's junior by some thirteen years.

valuable assistance to Governor Stuyvesant and his Council in their efforts to punish the Esopus Indians for their massacres, and to rescue some forty fellow-colonists whom the savages had taken captive. All negotiations having failed, it was determined to surprise the Indian fort. Stillwell, who for his experience and valour was held in high esteem by the Governor, shared the command in this undertaking; but the Indians being warned of his approach by a squaw, Nicholas led his men "*in a brave charge*," and forced an entrance into their stronghold, with the result that their chief, Pape-quan-chan, and many of their "braves" were killed, and the tribe effectually crushed.

When the "English Colony of Connecticut in New England" attempted to annex Long Island, and the messenger, Christie, who had been to other villages for the purpose, came finally to Gravenzande and read the proclamation informing the people of the change of Government, Nicholas Stillwell, as the Dutch Governor's Lieutenant and Sheriff, ordered him to cease, and on his disobeying arrested him. Most of the inhabitants of Gravenzande, however, were Englishmen, and were neither averse to a change which would place them under the Crown of England, nor scrupulous as to the allegiance which they owed to the Dutch Government under whose protection they dwelt; they, therefore, became so inflamed against the Sheriff, that he was obliged to send to Fort Amsterdam for a guard, with which he despatched the prisoner thither at night. When this became known the excitement grew to such an extent that Nicholas was forced first to hide while his house was searched for him, and then to take refuge at Fort Amsterdam. Whereupon "the Council of New Netherlands" immediately sent a letter to the townsfolk of Gravenzande, bidding them "protect the person and property of our aforesaid Lieutenant, Nicholas Stillwell, so far as it is in your power, against any insult or violence."

It was, however, not long after this that Charles II. granted the whole of the New Netherlands to his brother James, Duke of York (afterwards James II.), and the latter, taking advantage of his position as Lord High Admiral of England, despatched ships of war to the possessions of Holland, while the Dutch ambassador in London was being assured that their destination was merely the provinces of New

England, where their presence was required. Nicholas Stillwell lived to see the surrender which Stuyvesant was finally obliged to make, and the consequent passing of New Amsterdam from the Dutch administration to that of the Duke of York, after whom it was henceforth called "New York."

On the establishment of the English administration and the withdrawal of the Dutch, Nicholas finally took up his abode at Dover, Staten Island, where, surrounded by numerous descendants, he continued to be "*Still Well*," and, dying 28th December, 1671, left no other name behind him.

By Abigail Hopton he had two sons, Richard, known as Captain Richard Stillwell, and Nicholas, the younger; the latter was appointed a Justice of the "West Riding of Yorkshire," under the Duke of York, in 1664; a Justice of the Quorum, under James II.; and the same under William and Mary. In 1691 he was a member of the first Colonial Assembly, as a delegate for King's County. He left four sons and three daughters.

By Ann Van Dyke Nicholas "Stillwell" had four sons and two daughters, namely: 1. William, who had a grant of land on Staten Island, part of which he exchanged for the lands which had formerly belonged to his uncle, John Cooke, during the latter's sojourn in the New World; (William had four sons and two daughters). 2. Thomas, had great tracts of land on Staten Island, was High Sheriff of Richmond County in 1686, and a Justice of the Quorum in 1690; (he had one son and three daughters). 3. Daniel, received two patents for land on Staten Island; (he had four sons). 4. Jeremiah—so named because he was born about the time that his father received John Cooke's farewell letter, written from his "Jeremiah's prison"—was a Justice of the Quorum in 1691, and purchased a large estate in Philadelphia; (he had two sons and one daughter).

The two daughters of Nicholas Stillwell, by Ann Van Dyke, were Anne, the wife of Nathaniel Brittain (who received a patent for a considerable estate on Staten Island), by whom she had five children; and Abigail, who married Samuel Holmes, and had three sons and three daughters.

Captain Richard Stillwell, the eldest son of Nicholas by Abigail Hopton, was born in 1634, in Holland, where his parents had remained

after following the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia thither. He was consequently only four years old when, his mother having died, his father took him and his still younger brother to seek, in the New World, that peace and freedom from intolerance which was denied them in the Old. His first wife, Mary Holmes, having died without issue, Richard Stillwell married, as already stated, his cousin, Freelove, or Mercy Cooke, the daughter of his uncle, Lord Justice John Cooke, the famous Regicide. Of Captain Stillwell's return to England in order to save from confiscation the Irish estates of his attainted uncle and father-in-law, as well as to recover for himself the estates of his maternal uncle, Lord Hopton, we have already told. Under the administration of the Duke of York[1] Captain Richard Stillwell was appointed, in 1664, a Justice of the "West Riding of Yorkshire," comprising Staten Island and part of Long Island; and, in 1680, he took up his abode at Dover, Staten Island, on the lands which had formerly been occupied by his uncle and father-in-law, John Cooke; and there he died, 1688-9, and was interred in the cemetery on Staten Island, where subsequently his wife—the daughter of the Regicide—was laid to rest beside him. They had five sons and one daughter, Mary, who married firstly her cousin, Nathaniel Brittain, and secondly Valentine Dushau.

The five sons were: 1. John, who succeeded to the lands of his grandfather, the noted John Cooke, and received a patent for them in 1693; in which year also he was appointed High Sheriff of Richmond County. He was a Justice of the Quorum in 1702, and, in 1710, a delegate to the General Assembly, and continued to be so until his death in 1724, when he left five sons and three daughters. 2. Nicholas, who married Mary, daughter of Gersham Moore, of Brooklyn, and left three sons and two daughters. 3. Thomas, who was Captain of Militia, at Gravesend, in 1700, and died in Staten Island, in 1726, leaving one son (Daniel). 4. Richard, who married Mercy Sandys—"the proud and beautiful Mrs. Stillwell"—by whom he had two sons and six daughters, "the six beautiful sisters"; but as the Bradhursts and others of whom we treat are descended from this union, we shall

[1] Afterwards King James II.

have more to say of him anon. 5. Jeremiah (the youngest son of Captain Richard Stillwell by Freelove, or Mercy Cooke) finally settled in Maryland, where he died in 1750, leaving four sons.

Thus were founded the numerous branches of the STILLWELL family, all descended from Nicholas, the originator of that message, and many of them from his brother, John Cooke, "Solicitor to the People of England," through the marriage of the latter's daughter with the eldest son of Nicholas.[1]

Richard Stillwell, the fourth son of Captain Richard Stillwell by "Freelove," or Mercy, Cooke, was born 25th June, 1671, six months before the death of his grandfather, Nicholas. His eldest brother, John (named after the regicide), having succeeded to the broad acres which had originally been acquired by their grandfather, John Cooke, Richard departed from Staten Island—the nursery, so to speak, of his race—and settled in New York. He married firstly, in 1705, Deborah, daughter of John Bowne,[2] an Englishman who had settled in New Jersey,[3] but she dying without issue Richard Stillwell married secondly, in 1712, Mercy Sands—"the proud and beautiful"—granddaughter of Captain James Sands, by whom he was the father of two sons and of "*the beautiful six*," who thus claimed descent from the noble house of Sandys. But before we pass on to that family, and take leave of the Stillwells, let us give the consideration which it merits to a letter written by one of those six sisters, Lydia Stillwell, the wife of John Watkins. Her letter, which was addressed to President Stiles of Yale College, is noteworthy as confirming many of the traditions of her family, and as being written by one who lived at a date when those traditions were still too young to have existed without some

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[1] *Early Memoirs of the Stillwell Family*, comprising the Life and Times of Nicholas Stillwell, the common ancestor of the numerous families bearing that surname, with some account of His Brothers John and Jasper, by Benjamin Marshall Stillwell.

[2] In the record of this marriage the name Bowne is spelt with a small "b," which led Dr. O'Callaghan to publish it as Cowne. In the Stillwell Memoirs her name is erroneously given as Deborah Reed, a mistake arising from the fact that John Reed (who had married a sister of Mercy Sands) was called "brother-in-law" by Richard Stillwell.

[3] MS. notes by Eugene Schieffelin.

material foundation. The letter is dated 4th January, 1792, the writer being then rather more than sixty years of age:

"Reverend Sir,

"The letter you did me the honor of writing me, by Mr. Brown, of the 20th of December last I have received, and would have answered sooner, but being fearful of some errors creeping into my account of the late Solicitor Coke, I endeavoured to obtain an account from some of his descendants who are here, as time would permit.

"Madam Wooster misunderstood me, in what she has related, as having received from me, relative to Solicitor Coke, who was my great grandfather, and was tried, condemned, hanged, quartered and burned in England on Charles Second's coming to the throne, for the active part he had taken in having his predecessor brought to that punishment he so richly merited. His daughter who was married to my Grandfather Stillwell, (which was an assumed name), came to Boston with him, that is my grandfather, which place they removed from, and lived in New York, from whence they went to Staten Island where they died. They had several children amongst whom was my father.

"Previous to my grandfather's arrival in this country and during some part of the life time of her father she was one of the Maids of Honour to the then Queen and was obliged to leave England for the active part her father had taken.

"As to what had been related by Madam Wooster relative to Fishers & Shelten Island, I had a grandfather who was a clergyman, who lived on Block Island (but was driven from there by the pirates who at that time infested these places) with the natives of the country, and went into some of the provinces of New England, where he died.

"I am, Reverend Sir, with every respect and esteem, your friend and very humble Servant,

"Lydia Watkins.

"*Harlem Heights.*"

Sandys, Sands, Sandes,
or Sandis

SANDS.

SANDYS, SANDS, SANDES, OR SANDIS

CHAPTER I

ITS PEERAGES AND BARONETCIES

THE name of Sandys, Sands, Sandes, or Sandis, has been said to be derived from *Sande*, in the Isle of Wight,[1] and the family to be descended from Ulnod, the Saxon, who dwelt there in 1041, and lived in the reigns of Hardicanute and Edward the Confessor.

In 1377 Richard del Sandys was returned to Parliament as a Knight of the Shire for Cumberland; and in 1390 and 1394 Thomas del Sandys was likewise returned to Parliament for the same County.

Robert Sandys, of Rattenby Castle, St. Bees, Cumberland, in 1399, was the direct ancestor of the numerous distinguished branches of the family, which has had no less than three Peerages and three Baronetcies conferred upon it at various times.

The first Peerage was created in 1529, when in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir William Sandys, of the Vine, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire, was summoned to Parliament as a Baron. He was a Knight of the Garter, Treasurer of Calais, Lord Chamberlain, and one of the most renowned generals and courtiers of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He is one of the *dramatis personæ* in Shakespeare's historical play named after the latter king. On the death of the 4th Lord Sandys, of the Vine,[2] this title passed to

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[1] Domesday Book; and Camden's *Survey of Britain*.

[2] It was the 3rd Lord Sandys, of the Vine, who married Catherine Brydges, a celebrated beauty, known as "The Fair Brydges," daughter of Edmund, Lord Chandos. Her grandfather, the 1st Lord Chandos, of Sudeley, had been granted Sudeley Castle (the ancient home of the Tracys) by Queen Mary. One of his daughters married John Tracy, of Toddington, and another married that gentleman's cousin, George Throckmorton, of Coughton.

another branch of the family, namely, Sandys of Latimers, in Buckinghamshire, by the marriage of that nobleman's sister, the Hon. Elizabeth Sandys, with her cousin, Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimers, whose son Colonel Henry Sandys became fifth Baron. From the latter the title continued again in the male line, until the death, about 1700, of the 8th Lord Sandys, of the Vine, when it fell into abeyance between his sisters, on whom the estates devolved. Authorities differ as to the exact connection between the line of the first, and great, Lord Sandys of the Vine, and that of the other branches of the family, but they agree that his wife Margery, or Margaret, Bray was descended from Robert Sandys, of Rattenby Castle, the common ancestor of them all.[1]

The second Peerage was conferred on Samuel Sandys, of Ombersley Court, Worcestershire, whom George II. created, in 1743, Baron Sandys of Ombersley. But this title expired on the death of Edwin, the 2nd Peer, in 1797, when the estates passed to his niece, Mary Sandys, who had married the Marquis of Downshire. (She was the daughter of the Hon. Martin Sandys, who had predeceased his elder brother.)

In 1802 the third Peerage was conferred on the house of Sandys, when Lady Downshire was created Baroness Sandys of Ombersley, with remainder to her younger sons, from one of whom the present Lord Sandys is derived, whilst her eldest son succeeded to his father's honours and continued the Marquisate of Downshire.

Of the three Baronetcies conferred on the house of Sandys, the first was on Sir Myles, of Willerton, Cambridgeshire, in 1612, which became extinct on the death of his only surviving son, Sir Myles Sandys, 2nd Baronet.

The next was on Sir Richard Sandys, of Northbourne Court, Kent, who was created a Baronet in 1684; but he leaving no son, the title expired, and the estate was inherited by his eldest daughter, who married Sandys of Down Hall.

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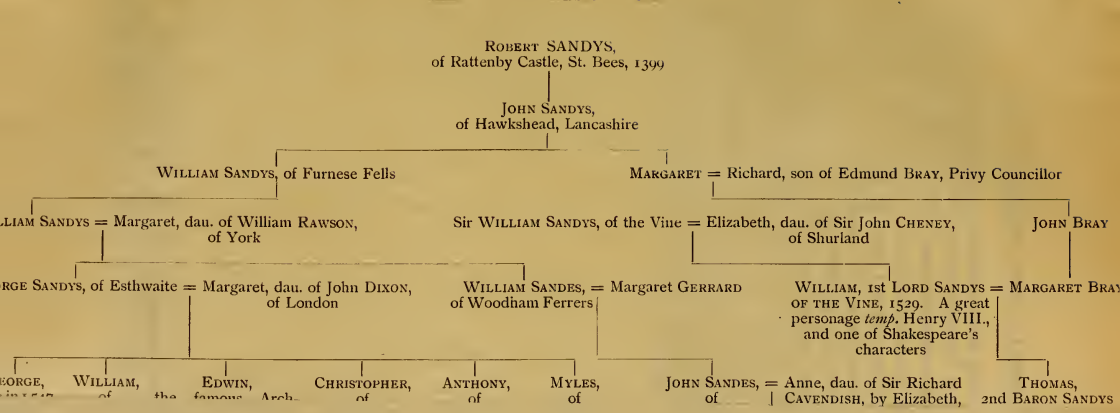
[1] Some accounts make William, the 1st Lord Sandys of the Vine, a son of William Sandys (who married Margaret Rawson), and uncle of Archbishop Sandys; but Lee and others doubt it, and Burke says that the great Lord Sandys of the Vine was the son of a Sir William Sandys, of the Vine, whose wife was a sister of Lord Cheney of Shurland.

SANDYS, SANDS, SANDES OR SANDIS


Robert SANDYS,
of Rattenby Castle, St. Bees, 1399
John Sandys,
of Hawkshead, Lancashire
William Sandys, of Furnese Fells
Margaret = Richard, son of Edmund Bray, Privy Councillor
LLIAM SANDYS = Margaret, dau. of William Rawson, of York
Sir William Sandys, of the Vine = Elizabeth, dau. of Sir John Cheney, of Shurland
John Bray
RGE SANDYS, of Esthwaite = Margaret, dau. of John Dixon, of London
William Sandes, = Margaret Gerrard
of Woodham Ferrers
William, 1st Lord Sandys = Margaret Bray
of the Vine, 1529. A great personage *temp.* Henry VIII., and one of Shakespeare's characters
EORGE,
William,
of
Edwin,
Christopher,
of
Anthony,
of
Myles,
of
John Sandes, = Anne, dau. of Sir Richard
of Cavendish, by Elizabeth,
Thomas,
2nd Baron Sandys

another branch of the family, namely, Sandys of Latimers, in Buckinghamshire, by the marriage of that nobleman's sister, the Hon. Elizabeth Sandys, with her cousin, Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimers, whose son Colonel Henry Sandys became fifth Baron. From the latter the title continued again in the male line, until the death, about 1700, of the 8th Lord Sandys, of the Vine, when it fell into abeyance between his sisters, on whom the estates devolved. Authorities differ as to the exact connection between the line of the first, and great, Lord Sandys of the Vine, and that of the other branches of the family, but they agree that his wife Margery, or Margaret, Bray was descended from Robert Sandys, of Rattenby Castle, the common ancestor of them all.[1]

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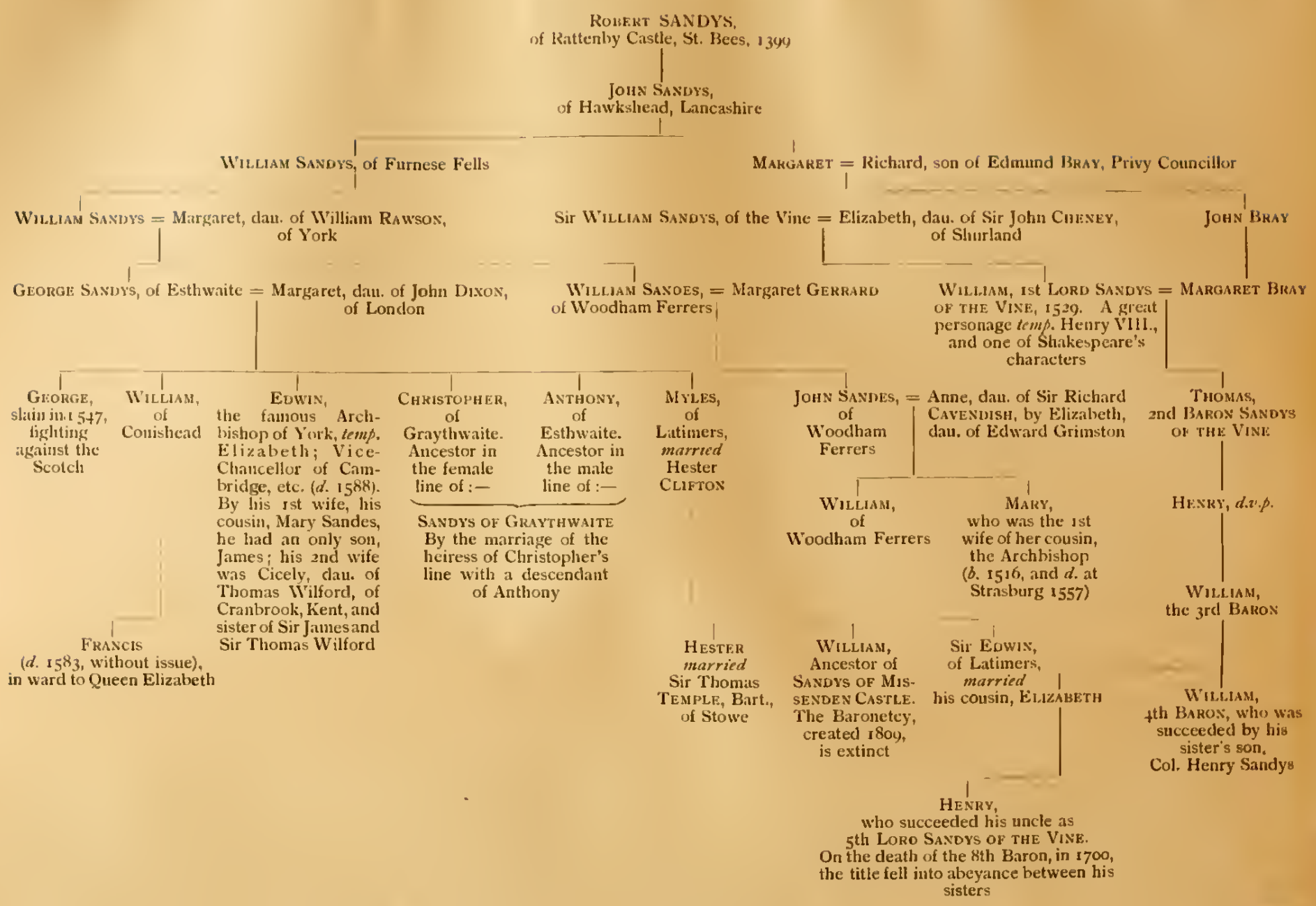
SANDYS, SANDS, SANDES OR SANDIS


ROBERT SANDYS, of Rattenby Castle, St. Bees, 1399
JOHN SANDYS, of Hawkshead, Lancashire
WILLIAM SANDYS, of Furnese Fells
MARGARET = Richard, son of Edmund BRAY, Privy Councillor
WILLIAM SANDYS = Margaret, dau. of William RAWSON, of York
Sir WILLIAM SANDYS, of the Vine = Elizabeth, dau. of Sir John CHENEY, of Shurland
JOHN BRAY
GEORGE SANDYS, of Esthwaite = Margaret, dau. of John DIXON, of London
WILLIAM SANDES, = Margaret GERRARD of Woodham Ferrers
WILLIAM, 1st LORD SANDYS OF THE VINE, 1529. A great personage temp. Henry VIII., and one of Shakespeare's characters = MARGARET BRAY
GEORGE, slain in 1547, fighting against the Scotch
WILLIAM, of Conishead
EDWIN, the famous Archbishop of York, temp. Elizabeth; Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, etc. (d. 1588). By his 1st wife, his cousin, Mary Sandes, he had an only son, James; his 2nd wife was Cicely, dau. of Thomas Wilford, of Cranbrook, Kent, and sister of Sir James and Sir Thomas Wilford
CHRISTOPHER, of Graythwaite. Ancestor in the female line of:—
ANTHONY, of Esthwaite. Ancestor in the male line of:—
SANDYS OF GRAYTHWAITE By the marriage of the heiress of Christopher's line with a descendant of Anthony
MYLES, of Latimers, married Hester CLIFTON
JOHN SANDES, of Woodham Ferrers = Anne, dau. of Sir Richard CAVENDISH, by Elizabeth, dau. of Edward GRIMSTON
THOMAS, 2nd BARON SANDYS OF THE VINE
FRANCIS (d. 1583, without issue), in ward to Queen Elizabeth
HESTER married Sir Thomas TEMPLE, Bart., of Stowe
WILLIAM, of Woodham Ferrers
MARY, who was the 1st wife of her cousin, the Archbishop (b. 1516, and d. at Strasburg 1557)
HENRY, d.v.p.
WILLIAM, Ancestor of SANDYS OF MISSENDEN CASTLE. The Baronetcy, created 1809, is extinct
Sir EDWIN, of Latimers, married his cousin, ELIZABETH
WILLIAM, the 3rd BARON
HENRY, who succeeded his uncle as 5th LORD SANDYS OF THE VINE. On the death of the 8th Baron, in 1700, the title fell into abeyance between his sisters
WILLIAM, 4th BARON, who was succeeded by his sister's son, Col. Henry Sandys

The third Baronetcy, conferred in 1809 upon Sir Edwin Baynton-Sandys of Missenden Castle, Gloucestershire, is also extinct.

Thus, briefly, the three Baronetcies exist no more; the Barony of Sandys of the Vine is in abeyance; and the Barony of Sandys of Ombersley has passed, through the marriage of the heiress, Lady Downshire, to a younger branch of the family of Hill.

But to return to their common ancestor, Robert Sandys, of Rattenby Castle,—his great-great-grandson was George Sandys, of Esthwaite, in Hawkshead, County Lancaster, Receiver General for the Liberties of Furness, whose sons, Anthony, Christopher, Edwin, and Myles founded various branches of the family. The daughter of Myles was Hester, Lady Temple (wife of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stowe), whom Fuller mentions in his *Worthies of England* as having "*lived to see seven hundred of her own descendants*"![1]

[1] This Lady Temple was the niece of Archbishop Sandys, and the ancestress of Charles Augustus Jackson, who married Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst, a descendant of the Archbishop.

CHAPTER II

THE ARCHBISHOP AND HIS FAMILY

EDWIN, son of the afore-mentioned George Sandys of Esthwaite (and uncle of Lady Temple), was one of the most eminent divines in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was born in the reign of Henry VIII. at Hawkshead, Lancashire,[1] and educated at Cambridge, at a time when his distinguished relative, Lord Sandys of the Vine, was at the height of his renown. Soon acquiring a reputation as an ardent and eloquent supporter of the Protestant cause, young Sandys was rewarded by many valuable benefices: he was Vicar of Caversham, and Canon of Peterborough, and Edward VI. appointed him Master of Catherine Hall at Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University.

On the death of the young King in 1553, the Duke of Northumberland ordered Sandys—who was then thirty-seven years old—to preach against the succession of Queen Mary; and the latter, nothing loth, preached his famous sermon against the accession of a Roman Catholic Sovereign, and in support of Lady Jane Grey, to whom he was related. The sermon, which was preached at Cambridge before the Duke of Northumberland and others of his party, is said to have been so eloquent as to draw "tears from the eyes of many." A week or two later, on the collapse of Northumberland's party and the punishment of his followers, Edwin Sandys was deprived of his honours and imprisoned in the Tower of London. Many were arrested for their complicity in this plot, and the duke himself, having been seized at Cambridge, was tried and executed, together with his son, Lord Guilford Dudley (who had married Lady Jane Grey), and two others.

When nearly a year had passed, Sandys, through the influence of some of his powerful friends, received Queen's Mary's pardon, and immediately on his release withdrew to the Continent, whither many

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[1] He founded a Grammar School at Hawkshead.

of the more prominent Protestants had already retired. The news soon reached him of the suppression of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, and of the consequent execution not only of its instigators, as the Duke of Suffolk, but also of its innocent cause in the person of that nobleman's unhappy daughter, Lady Jane Grey.

During his wanderings Sandys visited many towns in Switzerland and Germany, where he associated with the leading Reformers of the day. He had married, some years previous to his downfall, his cousin, Mary Sandes, daughter of John Sandes, of Woodham Ferrers, Essex, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Cavendish, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grimston.[1]

By this marriage Edwin Sandys had a son named James, whom his wife seems now to have placed in the care of relatives while she joined her husband in his exile. But his troubles culminated in her death at Strasburg, where they had finally settled, in the third year of his flight from Queen Mary's Government. After this he had to endure one more year of discomfort and banishment, and then his good fortune returned never again to fail him. It was while at Zurich, staying in the house of Peter Martyr, the ex-Augustinian monk, that he first heard of the death of Queen Mary, and, on the very day of Queen Elizabeth's coronation, 13th January, 1558, he arrived in London.

He is supposed to have proceeded almost immediately to Woodham Ferrers on a visit to his parents-in-law, in whose keeping, it is thought, his young son James had probably been left. Be that as it may, it appears from an old Close Roll, that his father-in-law having died on the 21st of February in that year, Edwin Sandys entered into a compact, on the 27th of the same month, with his brother-in-law, William Sandes, of Edwards Manor, Woodham Ferrers, with regard to that manor and estate. The old "Recognisance"—dating from the first year of Elizabeth's reign—was discovered in January, 1900, by Mr. Lothrop Withington, a descendant of the family.

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[1] Edwin Sandys and his father-in-law were first cousins. The name was at this period spelt indifferently, Sandys, Sandis, Sandes, and Sands, even where the same person was intended; but, as a rule, the branch seated at Woodham Ferrers had it spelt *Sandes*.

"The condicon of this Recognisance is suche yf the above bounden Willm Sandes do not at any tyme or tymes hereafter during his life geve graunte demyse bargayne sell or otherwyse alyenate for longer tyme or greater estate than three yeares the manor of Edwardes in the countie of Essex or anye parte or parcell thereof or anye or anye other landes tentes or hereditamentes to him, the said Willm alreadye descended in possession or revercon as heyre to John Sandes his father, to any pson or psons whatsoen (the joynter or joynters hereafter to be made by the said Willm to his wyfe or wyfes and the dowre or such estate as shall be assigned to Anne Sandes[1] late wyfe to the said John Sandes in recompense of her joynter and dowre onlye excepted) withoute the specall assente and consente of the above named Edwyne Sandes thereof first obteyned in writinge and if also the said Willm at all tyme and tymes hereafter when he shall be amynded or detmined to demyse bargayne sell geve graunte or alyenate the pmises or anye parcell or parts of the same do bargayne sell or demyse the same to James Sandes, son of the said Edwyne, before any other man at and for such resonable pryce as any other person or psons without frawde or covyn will give for the same, That then this psent recognisance to be voide and of none effect or ells to stand in full strength and vertue."

From the above it appears that Edwin Sandys was not only anxious to prevent the Woodham Ferrers estate from passing from the family, but desirous also of securing it for himself and his son James; and from the fact that he should enter into such an arrangement only a month after his return to England, and so soon be contemplating the purchase of this property from his brother-in-law, William Sandes, shows that either his fortune had not suffered much by his imprisonment and flight to the Continent, or that on his return he had lost no time in improving his condition, perhaps, by his second marriage. For within a month of his return he married Cecilie, daughter of Thomas Wilford, of Cranbrook, Kent, and sister to those "*worthie Souldiers, Sir James Wilford, and Sir Thomas Wilford.*" From this time his lucky star was in the ascendant.

Within a year he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester (1559), and, as a writer has aptly put it, he "at forty-three began a new life, with a new family, new surroundings, and a new Queen. Elizabeth's

[1] Anne was the granddaughter of Augustus and niece of Edward Cavendish, and daughter of Sir Richard Cavendish, of Grimstead, Suffolk, by Elizabeth Grimston.

EDWIN SANDYS (BISHOP OF LONDON, 1570)

From the portrait in the Portcous Library at Fulham Palace, by permission of the Bishop of London, 1902

liking for Sandys, which seems to have been considerable, is rather remarkable, as she usually disapproved of the marriage of clergy, but she doubtless knew something of a discourse made by him at York, in which he glowingly extolled her virtues. Thus Sandys preached himself in as well as out of favour."

In due course the Bishop seems to have acquired the property of his first wife's family, at Woodham Ferrers, where, in a park of some 260 acres, stood the old home of her brother, William Sandes.[1] In the parish of Woodham Ferrers—which had been the property of William, Earl Ferrers, *temp.* Richard I.—stood the Manor of Woodham, near the road leading from Danbury, and not far from this was the Manor of Edwards, built, in 1382, by Edward de Woodham. Here Edwin Sandys built himself the residence known as Edwins Hall, about a mile from the church, which is still to be found.[2] The older Manor of Edwards, which has now disappeared, was in 1623 the property of the Bishop's eldest son by Cecilie Wilford, Sir Samuel Sandys, of Ombersley,[3] who, in later years, allowed his widowed mother to reside there with one of her younger sons, Henry.

For eleven years Edwin Sandys was Bishop of Worcester and then, in 1570, he was translated to the See of London. He was evidently in high favour with Queen Elizabeth, although with Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, he was frequently at variance, the latter being less intolerant of old usages, and often having cause to complain of what he termed the other's "Germanical" views—views which the sojourn of Sandys among Lutherans, and which his sufferings at the hands of Queen Mary had fostered to such an extent, that he carried his Protestantism so far as to desire the abolishment of all ecclesiastical vestments and of the sign of the Cross in baptism. About this time he translated from the Hebrew, the Books of Samuel and the Chronicles for the version known as the "Bishop's Bible."

During his Bishopric of London he passed much of his time at Stepney, where the Bishops of London then had a Manor House and two woods in addition to the old Palace at Fulham; but it is

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[1] "Visitation of Essex, 1558." In the "Visitation of Essex, 1612," his name is spelled William *Sands*.

[2] Morant's *Essex*.

[3] Will of Sir Samuel Sandys.

in the library of the latter episcopal residence that his portrait still hangs.

In 1577 Sandys was promoted to the Archbishopric of York, to which, at that period, was joined the See of Southwell, in Nottinghamshire. Thus Bishopsthorpe, one of the stateliest of ecclesiastical residences, became his; but it was at Scrooby that he preferred to spend most of his time, in the old Manor House where, amidst its thirty-nine apartments, many a notable character in history had tarried. There Margaret, Queen of Scotland (daughter of Henry VII.), had slept when travelling on the great North Road; and there Cardinal Wolsey had dwelt, and planted a mulberry tree long afterwards known by his name; and there, too, he heard the accounts of his degradation, and passed the last embittered days of his downfall. With the advent of the Reformation the glory of Scrooby departed, and Archbishop Sandys appointed William Brewster[1] receiver of Scrooby and all its liberties in Nottinghamshire, and bailiff of the Manor House, for life. "Subsequently, when the Archbishop's son, Sir Samuel Sandys, became the owner of Scrooby, Elder Brewster became the tenant and Scrooby Manor House became a regular Post House on the great North Road; and here the first Separatist Church was formed by William Brewster, William Bradford, John Robinson, and the people living near by, and regular meetings were held within the old Manor walls until, forced by circumstances, the Church removed to Leyden, Holland."[2]

To Archbishop Sandys his successors in the See of York are indebted for their enjoyment of the Palace and lands of Bishopsthorpe, for he successfully thwarted the Council of the North in its schemes to deprive the archdiocese of them; and, with like pertinacity, Sandys withstood the attempts made to separate the Sees of York and Southwell. It was in the latter See that he preferred to dwell—perhaps because he foresaw that Scrooby would descend to his son, and hoped to found a family seated there—rather than at Bishopsthorpe—destined to change its tenants with successive Archbishops. But it is at Bishopsthorpe that his portrait as Archbishop hangs in the long

[1] The father of "Elder Brewster."

[2] *Sandys Portraits and Scrooby Manor*, Historical Contributions and other data supplied by James T. Sands, of St. Louis.

EDWIN SANDYS (ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, 1577) AND CECILIE WILFORD, HIS WIFE

From the portrait at Bishopthorpe Palace, York, by permission of the Archbishop of York, 1902

dining-room, and shows him older and more care-worn than in the Fulham picture. Of all the portraits of the Archbishops of York at Bishopsthorpe, that of Edwin Sandys is the only one in which a wife appears, and this painting of him with Cecilie Wilford emphasises the fact that he was the first of the married dignitaries who have dwelt there since the Reformation.

His Grace died at Southwell, at his favourite residence, 10th July, 1588, in the seventy-second year of his age, "leaving behind him," says Burke, "a deservedly high reputation for learning, probity, and other *Christian* virtues." He was buried at Southwell, and his handsome monument is in the Cathedral there.

His widow, Cecilia, Cicely, or Cecilie, as her name is indifferently written, survived him twenty-two years, and died in 1610, either at the old Manor of Edwards, or at Edwins Hall—the newer mansion built by her husband—both of which were in the parish of Woodham Ferrers, Essex, and were the property of her eldest son, Sir Samuel. The monument to her in the church at Woodham Ferrers, Essex, said to have been the work of a French artist, is in black and white marble, and in good preservation, although the figure on the right-hand side is gone, and, to the left, the figure of Time has lost his scythe, while a foot, the hands, and half an arm of the central figure have also disappeared. The epitaph at the base of the monument is :

"*Cecilie Sandys daughter of Thomas Wilford of Crambrook, in Kent, Esq; sister to the worthie souldiers, Sir James Wilford & Sir Thomas, was wife to Edwin Sandys Archbishop of York, who died in great honor in the year 1588, when he had lived full 70 years. She lived a pure maid 24 years, a chaste & loving wife 29 years, a true widow 22 years to her last. She bare him 7 sons & 2 daughters. She led a most Christian and holy life, carefully educated hir children, wisely governed hir family, charitably relieved the poor, & was a true mirrour of a Christian matron. She departed this life constant in Christian faith 5th Feb: 1610 at the rising of the sun hir blest soule ascending to the comfort of the blessed, & hir bodie here interred, expecting the joyful Resurrection.*"

On the left-hand side of the escutcheon, on the space under her feet, is inscribed :

"*Samuel Sandys Knt eldest son of the said Cicely, who of his love and pietie to his said mother, hath at his own cost erected this monument, in the year of our Lord 1619, being then high Sheriff of the County of Worces*t."

On the right-hand side, on the space beneath her desk, is:

"*Sir Edwyn Sandys Knt hir 2 sonne. Sir Miles Sandys Knt & Bart 3 sonne. William Sandys who died in his youth. Thomas Sandys Esq: 5 sonne. Henry Sandys Esq: 6 sonne. George Sandys Esq: 7 sonne. Margaret married to Antony Aucher of Bourne in Kent Esq: Ann hir 2 daughter married to Sir William Barne of Wolwich.*"

Besides these inscriptions on the monument, the stone on the ground, beneath which the Archbishop's widow was buried, has on it:

"*Cecilie Sandys, wife of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, departed this life the 5 of Feb: 1610. And is under this Stone buried.*"[1]

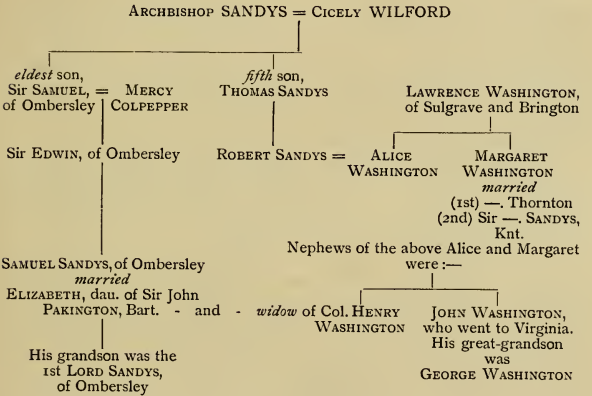
The eldest son of the Archbishop, by his second marriage, was Sir Samuel Sandys, of Ombersley Court, Worcestershire, ancestor of the Lords Sandys of that place. He was born while his father held the Bishopric of Worcester, and he married Mercy, only daughter of Martin Colpepper, from which marriage the names of *Mercy* and Martin frequently occur in the family. One of his daughters married Sir Francis Wyatt, the famous Governor of the Colony of Virginia, in 1621. Two of Sir Samuel's grandsons were gallant Royalists during the Civil War; Richard being killed at the battle of Edgehill, in 1642, and Samuel being Governor of Evesham. The latter married Elizabeth (daughter of Sir John Pakington, Bart.), widow of Colonel Washington. It is interesting to note that while many of the House of Sandys were distinguished Royalists, some of them were no less noted as Parliamentarians. Thus, another grandson of the Archbishop—Edwin Sandys, of Northbourne Court—received a mortal wound at the battle of Worcester fighting for the Parliament, and his brother, Richard—who purchased Downehall and founded a family there—was likewise a Colonel in the Parliamentary army. On the other hand, the Archbishop's cousin, Henry, 5th Lord Sandys of the Vine, was a brave

[1] The picture of this monument is from an etching lent by the Rev. C. Plumpttre, Rector of Woodham Ferrers, by whose kindness and courtesy the above particulars were obtained, the inscriptions having been copied by his daughter in 1901.

Monument to the Most Reverend Edwin Sandys (Archbishop of York, 1577-88)

At Southwell, Nottinghamshire

and active Cavalier, who was mortally wounded in the fight at Bramdene, in Hampshire, in 1644. Another point of interest is the several intermarriages between the families of Sandys and Washington; for not only did the Archbishop's great-grandson, Samuel Sandys of Ombersley (Governor of Evesham), marry Colonel Washington's widow, but two others of the Sandys family married Colonel Washington's two aunts, and these ladies were also the aunts of John Washington, who emigrated to Virginia. These intermarriages can be best explained as follows:


ARCHBISHOP SANDYS = CICELY WILFORD
eldest son,
Sir SAMUEL, of Ombersley = MERCY COLPEPPER
fifth son,
THOMAS SANDYS
LAWRENCE WASHINGTON, of Sulgrave and Brington
Sir EDWIN, of Ombersley
ROBERT SANDYS = ALICE WASHINGTON
MARGARET WASHINGTON married (1st) —. Thornton (2nd) Sir —. SANDYS, Knt.
Nephews of the above Alice and Margaret were :—
SAMUEL SANDYS, of Ombersley married ELIZABETH, dau. of Sir John PAKINGTON, Bart. - and - widow of Col. HENRY WASHINGTON
JOHN WASHINGTON, who went to Virginia. His great-grandson was GEORGE WASHINGTON
His grandson was the 1st LORD SANDYS, of Ombersley

The second son of Archbishop Sandys by Cicely Wilford was Sir Edwin Sandys, who was born 9th December, 1561, and was sent to Oxford as a pupil of Richard Hooker, whose uncle, John Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter, had spoken so highly of young Hooker to Bishop Jewel, that the latter became his patron, and finally commended him to Archbishop Sandys. Jewel and the Archbishop were old friends, having been companions in exile during the reign of Queen Mary, and so it came about that young Hooker—having proved

himself worthy of his recommendations, and Bishop Jewel having died —Archbishop Sandys with his sons, Sir Samuel and Sir Edwin, became his life-long friends. Under such patronage, and with his natural ability, Hooker was advanced in various ways; and, in later years, his biographer, Isaac Walton, received a letter in which Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, wrote, saying: "My friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's Church, often, while a child, walked with Mr. Hooker and my father, then Lord Bishop of London, and heard him (Hooker) talk and tell of the interest Archbishop Sandes and his son, Sir Samuel Sandys, took in him."[1]

It is an odd coincidence that in connection with Archbishop Sandys and the education of his son, Sir Edwin, the name of Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, should thus appear; for, now—after so long a lapse of time and in another hemisphere—a descendant of the Dean—whose recollections of Hooker are thus mentioned—has married a descendant of the Sandys family, to whom Hooker owed his advancement.[2]

Richard Hooker certainly proved himself worthy of the Archbishop's trust, for Sir Edwin was one of the most highly educated and accomplished gentlemen in England, and became the greatest of her statesmen under the first two Stuart Kings.

Sir Edwin, whose name is so interwoven with the early history of Virginia, was a prominent Member of Parliament, and received the honour of knighthood from James I., in whose reign he was the greatest of English politicians; but his influence was latterly marred by the weakness of the King, who eyed with jealousy the growing power of Sandys in Colonial matters. He was actively interested in the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay Companies, and drew up their Charters, in some of the oldest of which the names of his brothers, Sir Myles, Thomas, Henry, and George Sandys also appear as members of the London Virginia Company. Under the management of Sir Edwin the prosperity of the infant Colony rapidly redoubled, and its fame spread to such an extent that the King of Spain viewed with

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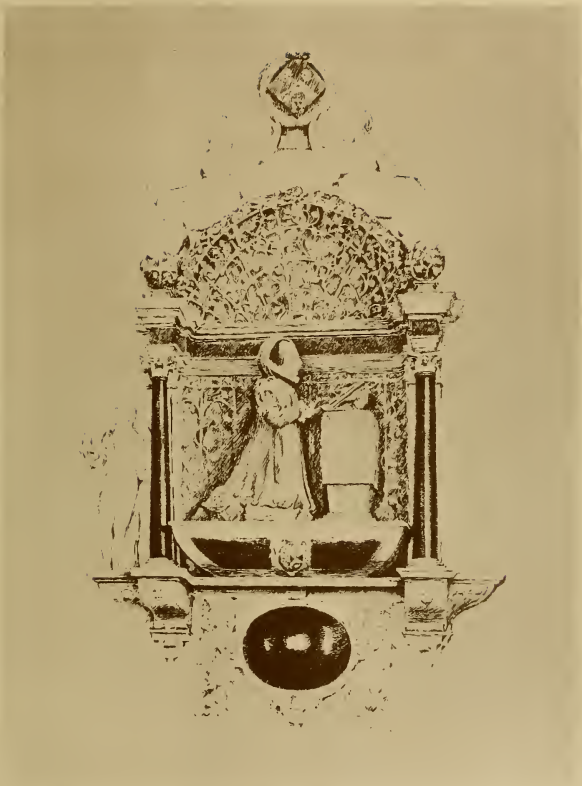
[1] *Life of Richard Hooker*, by Isaac Walton.

[2] Mrs. Maunsell Bradhurst Field is descended from Dean Donne, and her husband from Archbishop Sandys.



Monument to Cecilie, wife of Archbishop Sandys

At Woodham Ferrers, Essex

alarm the increasing prestige of England in the New World, and determined to undermine the man to whose sagacity and wisdom it was due. Sir Edwin, who was the author of all the Charters of the London Virginia Company, also drew up the Code for the establishment of the House of Burgesses, and the Charter for the Mayflower Company, and advanced a thousand pounds to the Pilgrims for five years without interest.[1] His ability in administering the affairs of the Colony, and in advancing its prosperity, was especially manifest during his tenure of the office of Governor—or Treasurer, as it was called—of the London Virginia Company, to which position he was appointed in 1620. But the Spanish Ambassador noted his doings and the progress of the Company, and duly reported them to Madrid, with the result that a plot was successfully set on foot to lose Sir Edwin the Royal favour, which up to that time he had enjoyed. The most dangerous weapons in the hands of his enemies were the suspicious and jealous tendencies of King James, and, these having been aroused, he was gradually persuaded that Sir Edwin was scheming to establish an *Independent State* in America! To such a degree was the King carried away by his enmity that, in 1621, he not only wrote to the electors of the London Virginia Company, "*Choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys,*" but he also committed Sir Edwin into custody (with Selden) on the 16th of June in that year, and confined him in the Tower of London until the 18th of the following month. The charge upon which they were imprisoned was their freedom of speech in the House of Commons! But Hume says that the King acted thus imprudently towards Sir Edwin Sandys "without any known cause except his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as a Member of Parliament."[2] This treatment of Sandys by King James was one of the matches which set alight the Remonstrances and Protests of the Commons—the beginnings of that hostility between King and Parliament which in the subsequent reign led to so much bloodshed. On his release, Sir Edwin, who had been succeeded as Governor by the Earl of Southampton, continued to be the most

[1] In various documents Sir Edwin frequently spelt his name Sands and Sandes. In a letter dated 12th November, 1617, he spelt his name *Sands*.

[2] Hume's *History of England*.

active and far-seeing member of the Virginia Company, until its Charter was cancelled and the government resumed by the Crown.[1]

"He was," says an old writer, "a leading man in all parliamentary affairs, well versed in business, and an excellent patriot to his country; in defence of which, by speaking too boldly, he, with Selden, was committed into custody 16th June, 1621, and not delivered thence till the 18th July following, which was voted by the House of Commons a great breach of their privileges. He was treasurer to the undertakers for the Western Plantations, which he effectually advanced; was a person of great judgment, and, as my author saith, *ingenio et gravitate morum insignis*. He wrote while he was at Paris, *anno* 1629, *Europæ Speculum*, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Part of the World. He left £1,500 to the University of Oxford for the endowment of a metaphysic lecture; and departing this life in the year 1629, was buried in the Church of Northbourne, in Kent, where he had a seat and fair estate."[2] Sir Edwin's eldest surviving son succeeded to that "fair estate," and he had a grandson who was created a Baronet in 1684; but that line terminated in an heiress who married her cousin, Sandys of Downehall. Sir Edwin's second son purchased Downehall, and one of his descendants married his cousin, the heiress of Sandys of Northbourne, whilst another married the heiress of the family of Lumsdaine and assumed that name. Sir Edwin Sandys, of Virginia fame, is therefore now represented, in the male line, by the family of Sandys-Lumsdaine, in Berwick and Fifeshire.

Sir Edwin's next brother was Sir Myles Sandys, of Willerton, Cambridgeshire, who was created a Baronet in 1612. His name appears in the second Charter of Virginia in 1609;[3] he represented his county in Parliament; and was succeeded by his son, another Sir Myles, who had been knighted in his father's life-time, and on whose death, without issue, that Baronetcy became extinct.

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[1] It was owing to a dispute which Sir Edwin Sandys had about Somer's Island that Lord Cavendish, who had sided with him, was given the lie by Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, and arrested in Essex to prevent a duel.

[2] This is quoted in Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, 1838.

[3] Thompson's *History of Long Island*.

The fifth and sixth sons[1] of Archbishop Sandys, by Cicely Wilford, were Thomas and Henry, both of whom are mentioned in the second Charter of Virginia.[2] Thomas lived in London, and it was his son, Robert, who married Alice, daughter of Lawrence Washington, of Sulgrave, and aunt of Colonel John Washington, the ancestor of the first President. Henry Sandys, who was born 30th September, 1572, at Fulham Palace (while his father held the See of London), was, like his brother Sir Edwin, educated at Oxford.

George, the youngest son of the Archbishop, was one of the most noteworthy of these distinguished brothers: a great traveller, a classical scholar of no mean order, an Orientalist, and, in his day, a much-admired poet; he was also a member of the Virginia Company, and an able administrator of its affairs. He was born at Bishopsthorpe—after his father had become Archbishop—2nd March, 1577, and was educated at Oxford. In 1621—the year in which his brother, Sir Edwin, had fallen from the Royal favour—he went to Virginia accompanying Sir Francis Wyatt, the newly appointed Resident Treasurer (or Governor), whose wife was a daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys, of Ombersley, and consequently George's niece. Afterwards, being himself appointed Resident Treasurer, George Sandys remained in Virginia until 1624, during which time he proved his ability and his interest in the Colony in various ways. He established ironworks and aided in defence against the Indians; but his leisure hours were devoted to literature, and it was in the wilds of Virginia, in 1623, that he translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a work which ranks among the first literary productions of the New World. On 24th April, 1626, Charles I. granted him the sole privilege of printing and selling these translations for twenty-one years, in a concession beginning as follows:

"Our trusty and well-beloved George Sandys, Esquier, hath with great care and industry translated into English verse the fifteen books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which he hath to his great charge caused to be imprinted and made ready to be published in print, rather for the delight and profit of our living subjects, than for the hope of any great

[1] William Sandys, the *fourth* son, died in his youth.

[2] Stith's *History of Virginia*.

benefit to be by him reaped thereby, and hath humbly besought us to vouchsafe him a privilege for the sole printing of the said work for such term of years as we should think fit and convenient, the better to encourage him and others to employ their labours and studies in good literature." [1]

To the end of his life, in 1643, George Sandys is said to have taken a deep interest in the advancement of the New World—for the welfare and prosperity of which his family had done so much, and where their name has multiplied and been distinguished in all its branches.

[1] The writings of George Sandys are referred to by Isaac Walton.

Archbishop Sandys; Sir Edwin Sandys; George Sandys; and Scrooby Manor

CHAPTER III

MERCY SANDS, WIFE OF RICHARD STILLWELL

THERE are now, we are told, some fifteen hundred members of the family in the United States bearing the name of Sands or Sandys;—a name deservedly honoured, not only because of all that Sir Edwin and his brother did for the American Colonies in their early struggles, but also on account of the notable characters which have sprung from this family in later times, adding honour to the name during the American Revolution, and rendering signal services in both the Army and the Navy of the United States.

Henry Sands was admitted a Freeman of Boston in 1640 (three years before the death of George the poet), and his son, John, was born in 1646.

James [1]—the Captain James Sands of American history—was born in England at Reading, Berkshire, in 1622, and arrived at Plymouth (in America) in 1658. His wife, Sarah, who accompanied him, was the daughter of John Walker, and a great-niece of William Hutchinson, the husband of *Ann Hutchinson*,[2] so celebrated in the annals of the Colonial Era. Two years later Captain Sands became one of the original purchasers of Block Island (now New Shoreham), the Indian name for which was "Manisses." Having removed thither from

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[1] It was another James Sands who died in Staffordshire, in 1670, aged 140 years, and whose wife attained the age of 120.

[2] Ann Hutchinson (killed eventually by Indians) was the sister of John Wheelwright, one of the famous Puritans. They were both banished, on account of their unorthodox preaching and tenets, from the Colony of Massachusetts in 1637; but seven years later Wheelwright wrote to the Government of that Colony admitting his errors, and the Court consequently withdrew the sentence of banishment, and reinstated him as a member of the Commonwealth in an Order dated "Boston, May 29, 1644." He died about the year 1680.—*The Lives of the Puritans*, by Benjamin Brook. Printed 1813. James Black, York Street, Covent Garden.

Taunton, and finding that there were some three hundred natives on the island, he built and garrisoned a stone dwelling for the protection of his family, in case of any disturbance. Here he led a most adventurous and active life, and "was a leading man, and had the principal management of affairs upon the island," says Thompson, who also tells us that the wife of Captain Sands was the only physician in the settlement, and that "some extraordinary cures are related as having been effected by her skill, particularly in wounds and poisoning."[1]

Captain Sands was Deputy for New Shoreham (Rhode Island) in 1665; Assistant Warden 1676; and commanded the Militia in King Philip's War.[2] He died 13th March, 1695, his wife surviving him some years.

His family were finally obliged to withdraw from Block Island, which had been twice plundered by French privateers, and three of his sons, John, James and Samuel went to Long Island where they purchased the tract of land which has since been called *Sands' Point.*

In their resistance of the French the Sands brothers had the assistance of Captain Simon Ray, who, like their father, was one of the sixteen original purchasers of, and settlers on, Block Island. Captain Ray, who was born in 1635 and was a Deputy to the General Council in 1708, had married Mary, granddaughter of the Hon. William Thomas—Assistant Deputy Governor in 1642-4-6-50, and Member of the Council of War in 1642—and daughter of Captain Nathaniel Thomas, who served in the Pequot wars of 1637; was Ensign of Marshfield in 1643; served in expeditions against the Narragansetts in 1645-9, and against the Dutch in 1667-8; and who was the fourth Captain of the Plymouth Colony in succession to *Myles Standish*—the "Puritan Captain" whose courtship is the subject of Longfellow's celebrated poem.[3]

By Mary Thomas Captain Ray had two daughters, Sybil and Dorothy, who married the brothers, John and Samuel Sandys. The

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[1] *History of Long Island*, by Benjamin Thompson.

[2] This war will be referred to later in mentioning Thomas Tracy, of Norwich, Connecticut.

[3] From data supplied by Mrs. Alfred Lahens.

SOME COLONIAL FOREFATHERS

Hon. William THOMAS
(*b.* 1573; *d.* 1651)
Assistant Deputy-Governor in 1642-44-46-50;
Member of the Council of War, 1642

Captain Nathaniel Thomas
(*b.* 1610; *d.* 13th October, 1675)
A Volunteer in the Pequot Wars, 1637; Ensign of Marshfield, 1643; served in the Expedition against the Narragansetts, 1645-9; in the Expedition prepared against the Dutch, 1667-8; was fourth Captain in the Plymouth Colony in succession to "Myles Standish"

Simon Ray
(*d.* 30th September, 1641)

John Walker
(nephew of William Hutchinson, whose wife was the celebrated Ann Hutchinson)

Mary Thomas = Captain Simon Ray, of Block Island
(*b.* 1635; *d.* 1727)
Served in defence of Block Island against the French in 1705.
Deputy to the General Council in 1708

Captain James Sands, of Block Island = Sarah Walker
(*b.* in England, 1622;
d. 13th March, 1695)
Emigrated, 1658; Deputy, 1665;
Assistant Warden, 1676

Sybil Ray
married
John Sands

Dorothy Ray = Samuel Sands
(*b.* 16th October, 1669)
(*b.* 1680; *d.* 1716)

John
married
Sybil Ray,
and left descendants

James
married
Sarah Cornell,
and left descendants

Edward
married
Dinah Walker,
and left descendants

Sarah
married
—. Raymond

Mary
married
—. Niles,
and left descendants

These three brothers purchased Sands' Point

Samuel Sands
married
Mary Pell,
daughter of Thomas Pell,
3rd Lord of Pelham,
and sister of
Ann, wife of Samuel Bradhurst, whose grandson, Samuel Bradhurst = Mary Smith

Sybil
married
Jonathan Rogers,
of New London

Mercy
married
Richard Stillwell.
Their daughters were "the beautiful six,"
one of whom was the mother of :—

Anne

Sarah
married
Nathan Silleck,
of Stamford

Mary
married
John Reed

latter had, by Dorothy Ray, a son and five daughters, one of whom was Mercy, "the proud Mrs. Stillwell."[1]

Samuel Sands died in 1716, having married a second wife, by whom he had no children. She survived him, and he appointed her and Richbell Mott executors of his Will, dated 11th December, 1713, and proved 20th September, 1716.

In this Will—characteristic of the times—he leaves to his eldest daughter, Sybil, wife of Jonathan Rogers, of New London, one shilling, she having been already provided for; to his second daughter, *Mercy*, wife of Richard Stillwell, of New York, two bonds for £50 each, a silver tankard, and £10. To his third daughter, Ann Sands, £100, and, on her marriage, silver spoons, a silver tumbler, ten sheep, a cow, and a Dutch wheel. To his daughter, Sarah, wife of Nathan Silleck, of Stamford, £5. To his youngest daughter, Mary Sands, £100, a bed, two silver spoons, a silver tumbler, and an *Indian boy*. To his widow, Elizabeth, an income to be paid quarterly, some furniture, and her choice of books, "plate made of silver since our marriage" (with the exception of Mercy Stillwell's tankard), linen, pewter, all her rings, jewels, gold chains, a bond for £50, a cow and a horse, and the *servitude of the Indian girls*.

To his son, Samuel, Samuel Sandys left the rest of his estate, lands, messuages, tenements, household goods, etc.; but in the event of his son dying without issue, the testator's widow was to have the estate for her life, with remainder to the testator's five daughters.[2]

The second daughter, *Mercy*,[3] is said to have been as remarkable for the beauty of her regular features as she was for her intellectual culture, and for that *hauteur* of manner which caused her to be called "the proud and beautiful." In her pride at the devotion of many of her kinsmen to the cause of Charles I., she ignored the fact that others

[1] The five daughters were Sybil, wife of Jonathan Rogers, of New London; Mercy, wife of Richard Stillwell; Ann; Sarah, wife of Nathan Silleck, of Stamford; and Mary, wife of John Reed. The only son of Samuel Sands and Dorothy Ray was Samuel Sands, the younger, who married Mary Pell, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Pell, 3rd Lord of Pelham, by his Indian wife. Mary Pell's sister, Anne, married Samuel Bradhurst, first of his name, son of Jonathan Broadhurst.

[2] Austin's *Rhode Island Genealogical Researches*.

[3] A favourite name in the senior branch of the family, Sandys of Ombersley.

of her race had fought with no less distinction in the Parliamentary ranks, and that her husband himself was the grandson of the Regicide, John Cooke. With her Royalist sympathies it was but natural that she should take a deep interest in the misfortunes and plots of the Jacobites of her day; and having been early impressed by the sufferings of her Cavalier relatives, it would be but small wonder if the tradition in her family were true, which relates that Mercy Sands carried on a correspondence—somewhat treasonous in nature—with some Jacobite friends in England; and that, when the rebellion of 1715 was suppressed by the troops of George I., and the adherents of the House of Stuart fled—or were transported—to America, she persuaded her husband to receive them with lavish hospitality beneath his roof, where they—like their friends in adversity in England—could indulge in their favourite toast, "the King over the water." It has, moreover, been also said that many of these exiles received both encouragement and material assistance from Mercy and her husband in commencing their lives anew in the American Colonies.

Her husband, Richard Stillwell, having been a prosperous merchant in New York, retired from business and settled at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, where he died and was interred, according to the following inscription:

"Here
Lyeth the Body of
Richard Stillwell,
Who departed this life 16th
April 1743, aged 71 years
9 mos, 22 days."

In his Will, dated 1742 and proved at Trenton 1743, he mentions his wife, Mercy; his daughters; his elder son, Richard; and the latter's three children, Richard, John, and Mary.

Mercy Stillwell survived him three years, when she died, aged about fifty-three, 24th October, 1746, at Shrewsbury, as appears from the monument there in the old churchyard of St. Peter's.

They had two sons, Richard and Samuel Stillwell, and six daughters, who, inheriting the good looks of their mother, became known as "the six beautiful sisters."

MERCY SANDS,
Wife of Richard Stillwell

In her Will, which is dated 22nd October, 1746, "in the twentieth year of his Majesty King George the Second's Reign," Mercy Stillwell, "of the Town of Shrewsbury, in the County of Monmouth and Eastern Division of the Province of New Jersey," bequeaths to her eldest daughter, Mary, wife of Captain Thomas Clarke, a certain piece of land; to her daughter, Catherine, a house and one acre of land; to her daughters, Elizabeth and Lydia, twenty-five acres in the same town; to her daughters, Deborah,[1] wife of Richard Smith, and Anne, widow of Theodosius Bartow, a "tract of land and meadow . . . near Shark River"; the rest of her estate she left equally among all her children, and appointed as executors her daughters, Mary Clarke, and Catherine and Elizabeth Stillwell.[2]

The New York *Evening Post* of 10th August, 1747, contains the following announcement:

"A plantation in Shrewsbury, 440 acres. . . . Fronts Northerly on Navesink River, Southerly on Shrewsbury River; part of the land well timbered; good new house, large stone cellar; 30 milch cows. It was purchased lately by Mrs. Mercy Stilwell, deceased, and ordered by her in her Will to be sold by her Executors, Catherine[3] and Elizabeth Stilwell."[4]

[1] Mother of Mary Smith, wife of Samuel Bradhurst.

[2] The marriages of the "beautiful six" daughters of Mercy Sands ("the proud Mrs. Stillwell"), and their descendants, will be found in the "Stillwell" Genealogy.

[3] Catherine married the Rev. John Pemberton.

[4] Elizabeth became eventually the wife of General John Maunsell.

John Maunsell Bradhurst,

of

Pinehurst

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST,
OF PINEHURST

From a picture in the possession of his grandson, Augustus Maunsell Bradhurst

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST, OF PINEHURST

CHAPTER I

TO 1812

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST, of Pinehurst, the only surviving son of Samuel Bradhurst (by Mary Smith), was born Wednesday, 14th August, 1782, at Paramus, New Jersey, and was baptised there in the old Dutch church, and named after his mother's distinguished uncle, General John Maunsell.[1] Although his life was, perhaps, less full of stirring incident than that of his gallant old father, he was more widely known, and no less honoured. Born in those very early days of the new Republic, he grew up with it, so to speak; and all that he heard from his parents of the past Colonial period tended but to mould him into an ardent and pure "Democrat" of the old school. He took a keen interest in the politics of the day, but, having a very sensitive sense of honour, he could never be induced to hold any office which might associate him with those who would not share his scruples, and of whose political methods he did not approve. He lived up to his ideals; and it was the knowledge of this unshaken strength underlying his good-natured kindliness which gained for him the love and esteem of those with whom he came in contact.

He was but a few months old when his elder brother, Samuel Hazard Bradhurst, died at Hackensack, so that he grew up entirely with his three young sisters, until the time came for him to go to school. He was only a year old when the British troops evacuated New York, and when his father returned thither, and soon began acquiring the broad acres of the Maunsell property, the family

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[1] Samuel Bradhurst's MS., *The Events and Ages of My Family.*

fortunes having been augmented by the bequests of Miss Cornelia Norwood.

John Maunsell Bradhurst was in his twelfth year when his great-uncle and god-father, General John Maunsell, died. In that year, 1795, the firm of Bradhurst & Watkins reached the height of its prosperity; and the name of Bradhurst was for the first time linked with that of Field, by the foundation of the firm of Bradhurst & Field; and the link then formed in business and friendship, has survived a hundred years, having been four times strengthened by the intermarriages of those families. His sister, Catherine, married Hickson W. Field, Senior;[1] his daughter, Mary Elizabeth, married Hickson Field, the younger;[2] and his granddaughters, Frances and Augusta Bradhurst, married brothers, the late Augustus and the late William Hazard Field.[3]

Even as a school-boy, and in the early years of his growing manhood, young Bradhurst showed that tender sympathy for the weak and suffering for which, in after years, he was so noted. His eldest sister, Elizabeth, a paralytic invalid, although only in her 'teens, depended upon the strong arms of her devoted young brother to lift and carry her from room to room; and when, at the age of eighteen, she died, he felt not merely the loss of the sister whom he idolised, but he received also, graven upon his mind, the impression of her wasted youth, and of her years of pain and helplessness; an impression which, throughout his noble life, caused him to yield unstinted assistance to the afflictions of the young and suffering.

At the age of seventeen he saw the close of the Eighteenth century, and with its close the death of its most illustrious character —George Washington—the commander under whom his father had had the honour to serve, the Founder of their Nation's Independence. It was on the last day of the century that the great funeral procession

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[1] She had been previously married to John McKesson. Hickson Field, Senior, had also been previously married, and it was by his first wife that he was the father of Hickson Field, the younger.

[2] Their daughter is the Princess Triggiano Brancaccio.

[3] They were the nephews of Hickson Field, Senior, and sons of Moses Field, by Susan, daughter of Samuel Osgood.

formed in Broadway, to march through the streets of New York to St. Paul's Church.

In August, 1803, young Bradhurst came of age; and in May of the following year he obtained his first commission in the Regiment of Artillery of New York City; the Artillery of the whole State having been formed into a brigade only a month previously, in April. It was soon after this that his father fought in a duel with his relative, Colonel Burr, in the vain hope that by its result it might avert the coming encounter between Burr and Alexander Hamilton. The first duel, however, proved of no avail, and the second ended fatally to Samuel Bradhurst's friend, General Hamilton. Thus it was that within a few months of his joining the Artillery, that regiment received the post of honour at Hamilton's funeral, 14th July, "the First Battalion parading with muskets and the second with field pieces, a detachment of the latter firing minute-guns while the procession moved. The route of the procession was through Beekman, Pearl, and Wall Streets, and so immense was the throng of people that nearly two hours were occupied in reaching Trinity Church. . . . The First Battalion of the Regiment of Artillery fired the funeral volleys over the grave."[1] The New York Regiment of Artillery was, at this time, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Curtenius, and the Majors were Major John Swartout and Major J. C. Ludlow. The artillerymen were by law entitled to certain privileges and exemptions, and in their ranks were many distinguished men, and members of the most notable families. In 1803 De Witt Clinton, a Major in that regiment, was elected Mayor of New York; and so much esteemed was the regiment, that an old newspaper informed its readers that "many gentlemen" holding commissions in other corps preferred to become privates in the Artillery.

The year 1806 was one of considerable importance in the life of John Maunsell Bradhurst, being not only the year of his marriage, but also of the formation of that Company of Artillery—now the 4th Company of the 7th Regiment of New York—with which his name became so intimately associated. The year, however, opened gloomily for his family, for, by the disastrous fire in February, at the

[1] *History of the Seventh Regiment of New York*, by Colonel Emmons Clark.

premises of Bradhurst & Field, at the corner of Pearl Street and Peck Slip, his father lost several thousands, including a very large sum in bank notes.[1] But, as Mr. Walter Barrett says, "this does not seem to have stopped weddings"; for, on the 19th April, Maria Theresa Bradhurst was married to Henry Hamilton Schieffelin, at her father's old home; and on the 26th of the same month, her brother, John Maunsell, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. Christian William Wilmerding. The former bride was twenty years of age; the latter was some months younger, and her bridegroom was twenty-four. Their cousin, the Right Rev. Benjamin Moore, Bishop of New York, officiated at both the nuptials, which were celebrated amid great rejoicings at Haarlem Heights, and Pinehurst was the scene of much old-time hospitality and festivity. Mr. Wilmerding, the bride's father, was a German by birth; his family had for many generations ranked amongst the leading citizens of Brunswick, where he owned considerable property. His eldest daughter became one of the celebrated nominees of the Tontine, her father having a share therein. This was one of the most notable institutions in New York at this period, having been founded by men of influence and weight as a sort of mutual insurance and loan company. Merchants of social standing and of known stability had formed the Tontine Association in order to provide suitable quarters for a commercial centre or exchange. An outcome of this organisation was the famous and influential Tontine Coffee House, at the corner of Wall and Water Streets. Every subscriber had the right to appoint a nominee for each share held, during whose lifetime he or she was entitled to a *pro rata* proportion of the profits arising from the investment of the fund. When the number of nominees should, by death, be reduced to seven, the property was to be conveyed to those survivors in fee simple; and this was carried into effect in 1876, but Mrs. Bradhurst had then long since passed away.

It was the very day before their wedding—25th April—that the British ships, which had appeared off Sandy Hook, fired nearly a hundred shots upon some little American vessels entering New York harbour, thus asserting the claim of the British Government to the

[1] Josiah Field only survived this loss to the firm one month.

ARTILLERY.

Longworth, printer.

To all whom it may concern, *BE IT KNOWN, THAT*

J. M. Bradhurst *is a Soldier in the Company*

commanded by Nicholas De Peyster *in the*

1st Regiment of Artillery for the city of New-York, of which

Lieut. Col. Peter Curtenius *is Commandant.*

In Testimony whereof, *WE, the Commandants of*

the said Company and Regiment, have hereunto respectively signed

and countersigned our names, this Tenth *day of*

May *in the year one thousand eight hundred and*

four *and of American Independence, the Twenty Ninth*

Nicholas G. Stevens

1st Lieut. Comm.

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST'S FIRST COMMISSION IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK ARTILLERY, 1804

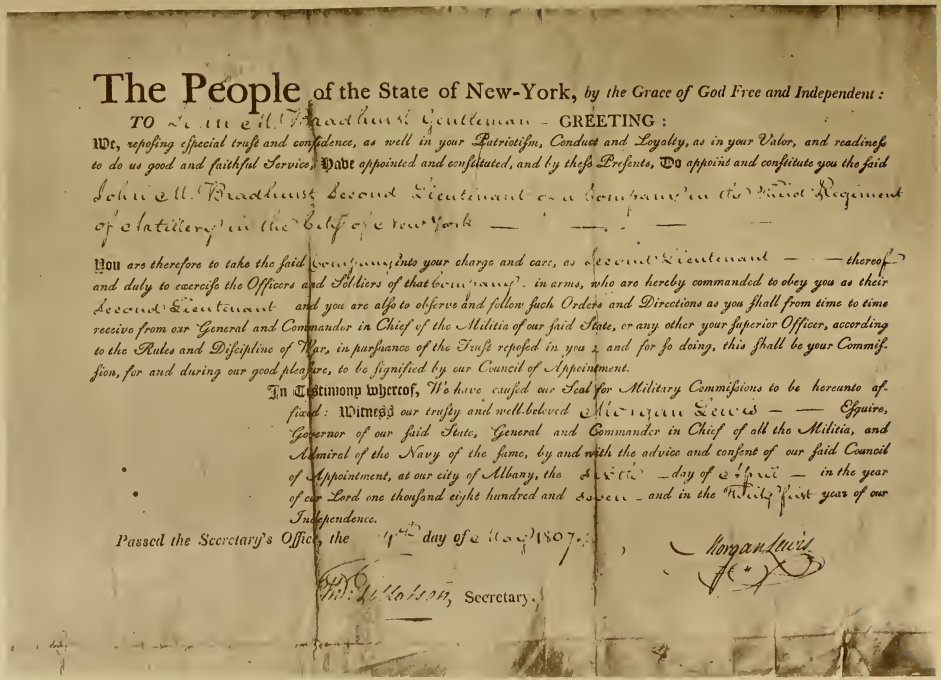
In the possession of his grandson, A. M. Bradhurst

right of searching for any of its subjects who might be serving under the Stars and Stripes. Pierce, a respected citizen of New York, fell a victim to one of these shots; and, the following day—the day of the marriage festivities at Pinehurst—his body was exposed to public view, and indignant thousands thronged excitedly to assure their eyes of the outrage. The excitement which followed—the enraged assembly of prominent men at the Tontine Coffee House; the public funeral of Pierce; the anathemas hurled at the British Government; and the dogged callousness of George III.'s ministers—belong rather to history than to these pages. But these events led rapidly to an accession of patriotism, which resulted within a couple of months of the Bradhurst-Wilmerding wedding in the organisation of those four new Companies of Artillery, which are now known as the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies of the 7th Regiment. The 4th Company is the one in which we are chiefly interested, for its first officers were Captain John W. Forbes, and Lieutenants Thomas R. Mercein and John M. Bradhurst. "They," says an eminent authority, "were young men of ability and social distinction." As yet, however, they had had no opportunity of showing their ability as soldiers; but that opportunity was now at hand, for in the formation and organisation of their new Company—at that time known as "Captain Forbes' Company"—they proved themselves as capable as they were energetic. The ill-feeling existing at this time between the United States and England, being increased by such incidents as that of Pierce, tended to make the 4th of July Celebrations an occasion for the display of more than usual enthusiasm in New York, and patriotism took the form of a military parade, the undercurrent of which was, not unnaturally, an anti-English feeling, prompting a display of military as a warning, if not a menace, to the Government whose ships dared to fire upon an American citizen within the very harbour of New York. Lieutenant Bradhurst, who had not been three months married, and the other officers of his Company, now had their hands full: nevertheless, none of the four new Companies were sufficiently prepared to take part in the celebrations on the 4th July. The first parade of these new Companies was, therefore, postponed until the 25th of November, a date second only to the 4th of July in stirring patriotic excitement, since it was the anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British

troops, only twenty-three years previously. The uniform of the new Companies included the blue coat with red trimmings, and the button of the Artillery, the three-cornered hat with tall white feather, and white waistcoat and trousers. They carried muskets, "and from that day to this, though nominally artillery, have drilled as infantry or light infantry. The muskets, which were forthwith purchased by the members, were of the smooth-bore, flint-lock pattern of the period. No effort was spared on the part of the officers and members of these Companies to make their first appearance creditable and successful." General Morton complimented the officers upon the soldierly appearance of the new Companies; Major-General Stevens reviewed them at the Battery; and De Witt Clinton, then Mayor of New York, publicly presented them with colours on behalf of the Corporation, and made them an eloquent address. Such were the auspices under which Lieutenant Bradhurst entered upon his military career. A few months later he received his second commission, dated the 4th May, 1807. The attack, in June, of the British man-of-war, *Leopard*, upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*—an incident usually ignored by English historians—added to the explosive train dividing the two nations. War appeared to be inevitable and imminent; so much so, indeed, that Morgan Lewis, the Governor of New York, actually issued an order calling for volunteers. First and foremost to offer their services were the four new Companies, numbering, then, only 140 officers and men, among whom was Second Lieutenant John Maunsell Bradhurst —a worthy son of the father who had fought and suffered under Washington—a worthy namesake of his gallant great-uncle, General Maunsell.

Actual declaration of war was, however, for the present in abeyance; but, by a succession of incidents, the excitement of its expectation was not allowed to abate. Consequently, in the spring of 1808, the numbers of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies were considerably increased, and the energy of the officers was exerted to the utmost in the continual performance of their additional duties.

The next year Mr. Bradhurst was taken into the house of Bradhurst & Field. He was then living at 100 Gold Street. Business in New York was at a very low ebb; commerce was crippled by the non-importation and non-intercourse Acts, which closed, for a time,



The People of the State of New-York, *by the Grace of God Free and Independent:*

TO John M. Bradhurst Gentleman - GREETING:

We, reposing especial truſt and confidence, as well in your Patriotiſm, Conduct and Loyalty, as in your Valor, and readineſs to do us good and faithful Service, **Have** appointed and conſtituted, and by theſe Preſents, **Do** appoint and conſtitute you the ſaid John M. Bradhurst Second Lieutenant of a Company in the Third Regiment of Artillery in the City of New-York — — — —

You are therefore to take the ſaid Company into your charge and care, as Second Lieutenant — — thereof, and duly to exerciſe the Officers and Soldiers of that Company in arms, who are hereby commanded to obey you as their Second Lieutenant and you are alſo to obſerve and follow ſuch Orders and Directions as you ſhall from time to time receive from our General and Commander in Chief of the Militia of our ſaid State, or any other your ſuperior Officer, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War, in purſuance of the Truſt repoſed in you; and for ſo doing, this ſhall be your Commiſſion, for and during our good pleaſure, to be ſignified by our Council of Appointment.

In Teſtimony whereof, We have cauſed our Seal for Military Commiſſions to be hereunto affixed: **Witneſs** our truſty and well-beloved Morgan Lewis — — Eſquire, Governor of our ſaid State, General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the ſame, by and with the advice and conſent of our ſaid Council of Appointment, at our city of Albany, the 26th day of April — in the year of our Lord one thouſand eight hundred and seven - and in the Fifty-firſt year of our Independence.

Paſſed the Secretary's Office, the 4th *day of* May 1807.

Morgan Lewis

Thos. Tillotson, Secretary.

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST'S COMMISSION, 1807

American ports against all trade with France and England. There were numerous decrees and counter-decrees, made with the object of affecting the hostile countries, but which, in at least some cases, failed in achieving their object to any extent, while, on the other hand, they meant the ruin of American trade, with all the attendant misfortunes of such a calamity.

On the 30th April, 1810, Mr. Bradhurst was promoted to be First Lieutenant.

Meanwhile the seizure of vessels between America and England, and between America and France, as well as between France and England, continued to take place; while the British and American Governments passed, revoked, and passed again various acts and decrees of reprisal. Napoleon, too, by the Decree of Bayonne ordered the seizure of both American and English ships; but he, at this time, was fully occupied by the events in Europe; and the attention of Englishmen was fixed upon his movements, beside which the storm brewing in America sank into insignificance. The thoughts of England were bent upon Wellington and Napoleon, and the momentous occurrences at her very door; but the minds of Americans were filled with their own grievances against Great Britain, and her wanton conduct on many occasions. Just as those nations each became engrossed in that which seemed to them of the greatest moment to themselves, so their historians have omitted, or dilated, upon the details of their quarrels. Even as English historians omit to mention the killing of Pierce, and the attack of H.M.S. *Leopard*, so the American historian usually ignores the fact of the superiority in tonnage and guns of the American vessels *Constitution*, *Wasp*, and *United States* over the British vessels *Guerrière*, *Frolic*, and *Macedonian*. Even as many notable English historians—Hume, to wit—devote but a few lines to the second war between England and the United States, so most American writers enlarge upon those of the details which most appeal to them. Alluding to the Acts passed by both Governments at this time, Knight wisely remarks that "to attempt to arrive at an impartial estimate of facts from the counterpleas of two parties in a civil cause, is a very difficult and unsatisfactory task. To judge between two angry nations by the accusations and recriminations of their manifestoes would be an attempt still more embarrassing to the historian."

CHAPTER II

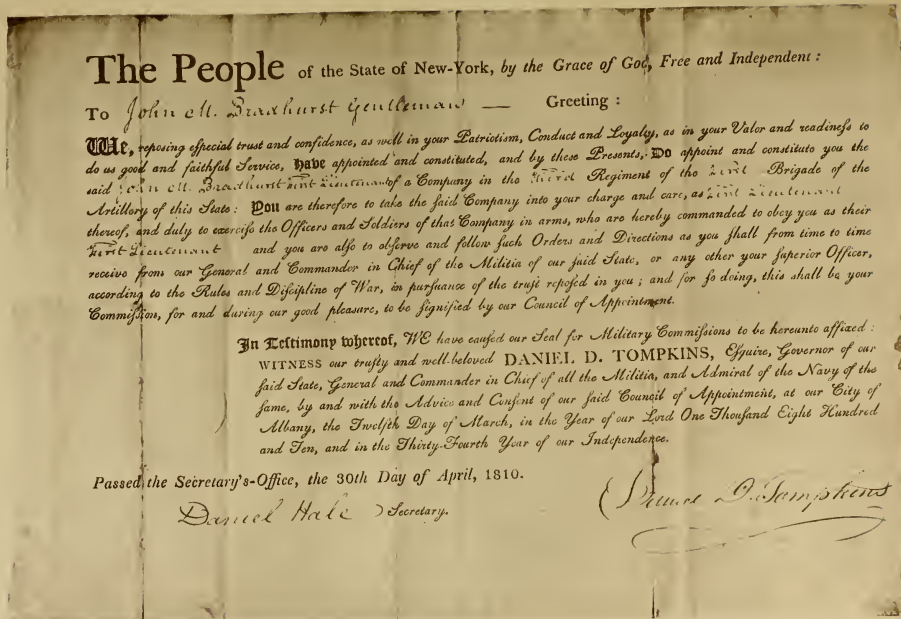
"BRADHURST'S REGULARS"

On 19th September, 1810, Mrs. J. M. Bradhurst gave birth to her second son, named Samuel Stillwell, who was baptised according to her faith, in the German Lutheran Church in New York. Her eldest son, at this time a child of some three years old, was also named Samuel; and the younger seems until his brother's death, in 1814, to have been generally called by his second name, Stillwell.[1]

In 1812 the diplomacy and threats of England and America having been exhausted, the war-cloud which had so long hung over them burst in a torrent.

On the 18th of June war was declared by the United States in consequence of the Orders in Council of England maintaining a claim to a right of search for British sailors in American trading vessels. On the 23rd of the same month—five days later—the British Government unconditionally suspended those Orders in Council. At first sight, a comparison of these dates would suggest either an unreasonable blood-thirstiness on the part of America in proceeding with a war, the so-called cause of which was removed; or a craven admission of weakness on the part of England in suspending the objectionable Orders immediately after the declaration of war. Both suggestions are, however, as false as they are unworthy of those countries. Writers of both nations have not scrupled to seize the opportunity of suppressing any explanation of these dates, in order to point the finger of scorn across the Atlantic. But the explanation is simple: the bare facts, the mere dates, are not alone the point to be considered; communication between England and America was, at that period, a matter of considerable time; there was not even the cable. When England suspended the Orders in Council, she was totally unaware that America had already declared war; and by the time that the United States

[1] Samuel Bradhurst's MSS.



The People of the State of New-York, *by the Grace of God, Free and Independent:*

To John ell. Bradhurst *gentleman* — Greeting:

We, *reposing especial trust and confidence, as well in your Patriotism, Conduct and Loyalty, as in your Valor and readiness to do us good and faithful Service,* **have** *appointed and constituted, and by these Presents,* **Do** *appoint and constitute you the said* John ell. Bradhurst *first Lieutenant of a Company in the* third *Regiment of the* 2nd *Brigade of the Artillery of this State:* **You** *are therefore to take the said Company into your charge and care, as* first Lieutenant *thereof, and duly to exercise the Officers and Soldiers of that Company in arms, who are hereby commanded to obey you as their* first Lieutenant *and you are also to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from our General and Commander in Chief of the Militia of our said State, or any other your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you; and for so doing, this shall be your Commission, for and during our good pleasure, to be signified by our Council of Appointment.*

In Testimony wherreof, *We have caused our Seal for Military Commissions to be hereunto affixed:*

WITNESS *our trusty and well-beloved* DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, *Esquire, Governor of our said State, General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same, by and with the Advice and Consent of our said Council of Appointment, at our City of Albany, the Twelfth Day of March, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ten, and in the Thirty-Fourth Year of our Independence.*

Passed the Secretary's-Office, the 30th *Day of April,* 1810.

Daniel Hale *Secretary.*

(Daniel D. Tompkins

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST'S COMMISSION, 1810

learnt that the British Government had suspended the Orders, they were already committed to the lamentable course to which they had been provoked not by these Orders alone.

In the preceding February, by the promotion of Captain John Forbes as Major, Mr. Bradhurst became Captain of his Company; and his Lieutenants that year were Garret Forbes and John Timpson. This Company was then one of those composing the 3rd Regiment of Artillery, and in Captain Bradhurst's commission, 21st February, 1812, he is therefore appointed "Captain of a Company in the Third Regiment of the first Brigade of Artillery." But about this time this 3rd Regiment became designated the 11th Regiment of Artillery of the City of New York.

When, in answer to the Message of President Madison, the Senate and House of Representatives declared that war existed "between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their territories," Captain Bradhurst's Company, and the others of the 11th Regiment, were the first to offer themselves for the defence of the City and State of New York.

This prompt offer, which was drawn up on the 29th July, and submitted to the Governor of the State on the 1st August, ran as follows:

"We the undersigned officers, non-commissioned officers, and matrosses of the Eleventh Regiment of New York State Artillery, in the City of New York, do hereby volunteer and offer our services (in the several capacities hereinafter named,) to his Excellency the Governor of the State of New York, in the defence of the United States of America, and in particular for the protection and defence of the City and County of New York, and its harbour, and the adjacent towns, under, and pursuant to the Act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to authorise a detachment from the militia of the United States,' passed the 10th day of April, 1812, as part of the detachment of thirteen thousand five hundred men, required under and in conformity with the said act, by general orders of his Excellency, bearing date the 21st day of July, 1812. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names the 29th day of July, 1812."

The Colonel of the Regiment having presented the above, the Governor wrote in reply:

"The military and patriotic spirit manifested by yourself and the officers and privates of the Regiment of Artillery under your command, in tendering their services in defence of their country, deserves the highest praise, and is an example worthy the imitation of all independent volunteer corps. Be assured, sir, that I duly estimate their generous conduct and example, and shall avail myself of an early opportunity to gratify their wishes, by obtaining for you, with the Regiment under your care, the command and defence of one of the forts in the harbor of New York. Allow me to assure you of my sincere regard for yourself personally, and for the officers and soldiers under your command, and of my unqualified approbation of their prompt and cheerful pledge to support the honor and independence of our beloved country."

To appreciate the important effect upon the public mind produced by this ready patriotism of Captain Bradhurst and his brother officers, one cannot do better than read the following paragraph from that interesting work, the *History of the Seventh Regiment of New York*, by Colonel Emmons Clark:

"The citizens of New York had been so divided upon the political questions of the day that the action of the Eleventh Regiment of Artillery in July, 1812, is of great historical interest and importance. Its officers and men represented the wealth, intelligence, and commercial interests of the city, and their voluntary enlistment established the fact that in the approaching conflict New York would present a united front to the enemy, and that all political considerations must yield to the general welfare and to the safety of the country. By its active patriotism on this occasion the Eleventh Regiment united the people in the support of the General Government, and secured for itself the most prominent place in public favor."

It is interesting to note that the first parade in which the 4th Company took part, after the acceptance of its offer as stated, occurred on Captain Bradhurst's thirtieth birthday, the 14th of August, when the troops assembled at the Battery, at eight in the morning. The zeal and energy with which the officers had worked to bring their men into a state of proficiency was rewarded not only by the presence of the Governor, and of many distinguished persons, at their musket-practice, but also by a special order of his Excellency complimenting the brigade. These officers of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies were all men of more or less note, and they did their best to show

their patriotism, at this critical time, by proving themselves worthy of their trust, and by rendering their Companies worthy of all honour; and the best endeavours of such men as these meant a complete success; a success the recollection of which has lasted close upon a hundred years, and will last more—as long, indeed, as there is any record of the measures taken for the defence of New York City and Harbour in 1812. Not the least active of these officers was Captain John Maunsell Bradhurst; young and, for those times, wealthy; related to many influential people both in England and America; heir to a large estate, and representative of one of the oldest Colonial families; he threw himself heart and soul into the patriotic movement, and devoted himself so unsparingly to his Company, which under him became so famous, that it was soon popularly known as "Bradhurst's Regulars."

The British were, at this period, as confident of the superiority of their navy as the Americans were of the result of their invasion of Canada. Both received a lesson as to the folly of underrating an enemy. The British navy consisted of 102 ships of the line; 111 frigates of from 32 to 44 guns; and over 300 smaller frigates; in all 621. The United States navy numbered only 4 frigates and 8 sloops![1] Small wonder then that Englishmen felt confident of future triumphs at sea. But General Hull, who had invaded Canada with 2,800 men, had crossed the Detroit on 12th July, and captured the town of Sandwich. It is not surprising, therefore, that Americans were sanguine as to the result of that invasion. But the capitulation of General Hull to an inferior force, on 16th August, was a shock to American hopes, equalled only by the blow to British pride which was caused by the repeated successes of the Americans at sea. In England surprise gave place in turn to astonishment, disappointment, and humiliation. In the House of Lords, on 14th May, 1813, Lord Darnley, speaking of the British navy, said that "the charm of its invincibility had now been broken; its consecrated standard no longer floated victorious on the main."[2] Seven years only had elapsed since the glories of Trafalgar. But whilst England stood appalled at the broken record

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[1] James's *Naval History*.

[2] Hansard, Vol. XXIV.

of her navy, America received another check in Canada in the surrender of General Wadsworth.

While the accounts of these and similar events were being brought to New York, "Bradhurst's Regulars" and the other Companies of the 11th Regiment were detailed to Bedlow's and Ellis's Islands, at that date reckoned the most desirable and honourable posts about that city. John Maunsell Bradhurst was ever as much influenced by his sympathy and generosity towards his fellowmen as he was by his love of patriotism and honour; and now it is that we find one of the first of many records of his feeling for those less fortunate than himself in the association of his name with other officers who—on account of the insufficient pay to privates (five dollars per month) in the United States Army—passed the following resolution on the evening preceding the departure of their Regiment for the forts:

"WHEREAS, the families of some of the men belonging to this Regiment may require further aid than that provided by law, in consequence of being deprived of means derived from the ordinary pursuits of their respective trades while called into public service for the protection of the city and harbor:

"Therefore, *Resolved*, that the officers of this Regiment will appropriate a portion of their monthly pay to raise a fund for the further maintenance of such families as may require assistance, and that Colonel Harsen, Major Mercein, and Captain Bradhurst be a committee to digest and report a plan to carry this resolution into effect."

The popularity of the 11th Regiment aroused by the promptitude with which it had volunteered, was by no means diminished by its conduct whilst in defensive occupation of Fort Wood, on Bedlow's Island, and of the circular battery on Oyster, or Ellis's Island.[1] The popularity of the Regiment was not undeserved, nor was it esteemed by civilians alone, for it received the highest commendations from the military authorities, and the general orders issued from headquarters by General Armstrong conclude with the following words in praise of

[1] On the site of the old star fort on Bedlow's Island, there now stands Bartholdi's great Statue of Liberty.

this Regiment: "The manner in which they have acquitted themselves while in the service of the United States is a sure pledge to their country of future usefulness and devotion. When such are its defenders the city of New York has nothing to fear."

Patriotism and military ardour had given rise to the formation of several independent Companies, one of the most esteemed of which was the "Iron Grays," commanded by Captain S. Swartwout, and including among its members Halleck—who celebrated it in verse—and Captain J. M. Bradhurst's brother-in-law, Hickson W. Field, a brother of Josiah Field, the former partner of Samuel Bradhurst in the old firm of Bradhurst & Field. Josiah Field had died some years previous to these events, but the firm of Bradhurst & Field had been renewed by a new firm of the same name, the partners in which were Captain Bradhurst and Josiah Field's brother, Moses. Thus it came about that the first partnership founded by Samuel Bradhurst, the revolutionist, and Josiah Field, his highly esteemed friend, was followed by another formed by the Captain of the "Bradhurst Regulars" and Moses Field, whose brother, Hickson, was one of the wealthiest members of that fashionable corps, the "Iron Grays."

In 1813 the Government authorised the raising of a war loan which was largely subscribed to by the leading merchants of New York, and the name of "Bradhurst & Field" figures in the list of them. Money was very scarce at that time, and the subscriptions which appear in that list would have to be multiplied by more than ten in order to appreciate their value at the present day. The descendants of those subscribers, therefore, read with a natural pride the names of their forefathers in that patriotic list.

The spirits of New Yorkers were about now alternately raised and depressed by the accounts which reached them of successes and disasters; the former relative chiefly to naval engagements, the latter to the invasion of Canada. The news of the capture by American troops of Toronto—then called York—and of their repulse of Sir George Prevost at Sackett's Harbour, was followed by the report of such actions as that near Chrystler's Farm, and by the announcement of the defeat of General Hull. The burning of Newark, in Canada, by Americans was balanced by the same treatment of Buffalo and Black

Rock by the British. The surrender of the American frigate *Chesapeake* to the British frigate *Shannon* was a blow to the United States which was only mitigated by the report of Captain Lawrence's gallant conduct, and by the recollection of previous American successes at sea, notably those of the *Constitution*, *Wasp*, *United States*, and *Hornet*. In England the joy aroused by the capture of the *Chesapeake* on the anniversary of Howe's victory, was damped when it became known that the American Captain Lawrence had been engaged in that combat without having received the bold challenge of Captain Broke, of the *Shannon*. The officers of the latter vessel, like true Englishmen, paid all honour to the remains of heroic Captain Lawrence when he died of his wounds. In the United States the death of Lawrence, and of his Lieutenant, Ludlow, cast a gloom which was manifest at the 4th of July celebrations in New York—held on the 5th owing to the 4th being a Sunday—when the Artillery—the only military body taking part in the civic processions—wore badges of mourning on their swords out of respect to the memory of those naval officers and of the late General Pike. During this year New York was frequently excited by the expectation of an attack from the enemy, but such rumours proved as groundless as were those which long afterwards disturbed Berlin on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The British men-of-war, which from time to time appeared off the coast were deterred from doing more by the United States flotilla and by the forts garrisoned by the 11th and other Regiments. The year 1813 was brought to an unhappy close in America by the defeat of General Hull on the 25th of December.

On the 29th of the following April,[1] Captain Bradhurst had the grief of losing his eldest child, Samuel, at the age of seven, leaving him with the only surviving second son, Samuel Stillwell. (The younger sons, William and Henry, and the daughter were not yet born.) The occurrences of the next few months were of such a nature that all the citizens of New York having any military training were required to prepare for its defence; and, in such an emergency, we may be sure that the commander of "Bradhurst's Regulars" was not behindhand; and that the bereaved father did not hesitate to hide his

[1] Samuel Bradhurst's MS., *The Events and Ages of My Family*.

The People of the State of New-York, by the Grace of God, Free and Independent:

TO *John M. Bradhurst* ——— GREETING:

We, reposing especial trust and confidence, as well in your Patriotism, Conduct and Loyalty, as in your Valor, and readiness to do us good and faithful Service, Have appointed and constituted, and by these Presents, Do appoint and constitute you the said *John M Bradhurst* *Captain* —— of a Company in the *Third* Regiment of the *first* — Brigade of the Artillery of our said State: You are therefore to take the said Company into your charge and care, as *Captain* — thereof, and duly to exercise the Officers and Soldiers of that Company in arms, who are hereby commanded to obey you as their *Captain* — and you are also to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from our General and Commander in Chief of the Militia of our said State, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you; and for so doing, this shall be your Commission, for and during our good pleasure, to be signified by our Council of Appointment.

In Testimony whereof, We have caused our Seal for Military Commissions to be hereunto affixed: WITNESS our trusty and well-beloved *DANIEL D. TOMPKINS*, Esquire, Governor of our said State, General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same, by and with the Advice and Consent of our said Council of Appointment, at our City of Albany, the *Fourth* ——— Day of *February* in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and *Twelve* and in the Thirty-*Sixth* Year of our Independence.

Passed the Secretary's Office, the 21 Day of February 1812

(*Richard Ferris*) *Secretary.*

Daniel D. Tompkins

CAPTAIN BRADHURST'S COMMISSION, 1812

sorrow and leave his home, in order to assist in the performance of those arduous military duties which were required by the exigencies of his Country, State, and City.

In that year, 1814, New York was greatly agitated by the news from Europe of the battles of Toulouse and Leipzic; the entry into Paris of the Allies; the abdication of Napoleon; and the signing of the first Peace of Paris on 30th May. The result was to set at liberty Wellington's renowned troops in the Peninsula for embarkation to the American continent. The fact that England had the power as well as the intention of prosecuting her war with the United States more rigorously, was not lost upon Americans; but it served only to incite them to fresh efforts, and renewed sacrifices on the altar of patriotism, in the full determination to withstand to the last the tried and proved regiments which were approaching them, flushed with victory and fame. When it is borne in mind that communication between Europe and America was a matter of many weeks, it will be seen that New York lost no time in preparing for the struggle, since it appointed a Committee of Defence on 7th July.

Again the 11th Regiment, including "Bradhurst's Regulars," was among the foremost to embrace this opportunity of offering its services in the defence of New York against a great British fleet, which, rumour now said, England was preparing. The Regiment, therefore, having been inspected at the arsenal on the 5th August, was ordered on the 12th "to assemble to-morrow morning, the 13th inst., at seven o'clock precisely, in fatigue dress, at the foot of Beekman Slip, for one day's duty on the intrenchments at Brooklyn Heights."

In this month the indignation of Americans was stirred to the very depths, and found sympathy among other nations; some, even of the greatest men in England herself, expressing their abhorrence at the conduct of her troops under General Ross. He, with an army of which a large proportion consisted of Wellington's tried campaigners, having dispersed, on the 24th August, an American force of superior numerical strength, proceeded to march on Washington; and, having reached the capital at eight o'clock that evening, committed, on the following day—the 25th of August—an action which has been condemned as one of the most contemptible outrages ever perpetrated in civilised warfare. General Ross, to quote his own

words, "set fire to and consumed:—the Capitol, including the Senate House and House of Representatives, the Arsenal, the Dockyard, Treasury, War Office, President's Palace, Rope-walk, and the great Bridge across the Potomac: in the dockyard a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop-of-war, were consumed."

The concluding words of this incendiary leader, are scarcely more to his credit:

"The object of the expedition being accomplished, I determined, before any greater force of the enemy could be assembled, to withdraw the troops, and accordingly commenced retiring on the night of the 25th."

One of the most noted of England's historians has stigmatised the conduct of Ross as one of the most shameful acts recorded in her history; "and," he says, "it was the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders from the Government at home."[1] The Prince Regent, in his speech on the opening of Parliament, condoned the vandalism in what has been characterised as "thoughtless and undignified language." But, for the honour of England be it said, there were many who dared speak otherwise: Lord Granville earnestly bewailed a system of warfare which had never been pursued, in a twenty-year conflict, even by Napoleon, in whose hands nearly all the capitals of Europe had been, and who, excepting only the Kremlin of Moscow, had never destroyed any unmilitary buildings. The President of the United States, in the proclamation, issued on the 1st of September following, in dignified language accuses the invaders—although only in occupation of the capital for one day—of having "wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation to their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and other repositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation, as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science." This temperate remonstrance found an echo in England, where Mr. Whitbread declared that his countrymen had done what the Goths had refused to do in

[1] *History of the English People.*—Green.

Rome, when Belisarius represented to them that to destroy works of art was to erect a monument to the folly of the destroyers. He foresaw the consequences of the outrage at Washington, and foretold the conciliation to the American Government of those of the States which had been opposed to it, and the marching of the battalions which until now they had withheld. The ashes at Washington had rendered the States united in something more than name. "Unity is Strength" —and from this time onward the balance of success was greatly in favour of the Union.

On 2nd September Captain Bradhurst and his Company assembled at the Battery at half past seven in the morning; and on the 5th another Company of the 11th Regiment was put in charge of the North Battery, whilst others, not occupied in the entrenchments at Brooklyn, mounted guard at the United States Arsenal and Laboratory at the junction of the Bowery and Bloomingdale Road. They were now constantly employed in various ways for the defence of New York City, their duties were no light matter, but from this time until the conclusion of the war their activity, discipline, and general conduct was such that they received the highest praise.

The news soon reached them that Sir George Prevost had, on the 1st instant, crossed the border and invaded the State of New York; and from Baltimore came the tidings of a battle, on the 11th, in which General Ross, the invader of Washington, had been mortally wounded.

Sir George Prevost, advancing cautiously in order to await the co-operation of the British fleet on Lake Champlain, reached Plattsburg on the 6th. His force consisted of nine thousand veterans from the Peninsula. Plattsburg was held by the American General, Macomb, and some fifteen hundred men. The fleet for which Prevost was waiting arrived under the command of Captain Downie on the 11th. The attempts to land were gallantly repulsed by the Americans, whose squadron under Captain McDonough awaited the advance of the British vessels, led by Downie's flag-ship, the *Confiance*. Captain McDonough's flag-ship, the *Saratoga*, and the American line, opened a heavy fire, whereupon the British gun-boats fled, and the rest of their vessels, after a gallant effort, surrendered.

The victory was complete, but the descriptions of the two naval

forces engaged vary according to the sympathies of the writers. The details given by an American and by an English historian, placed side by side, will show at a glance the partiality of one or both:

An English historian's account.	*An American historian's account.*
"This little fleet (the British) of a frigate, a brig, a sloop and twelve gun-boats, was ill-manned and equipped. The American squadron on the lake was very superior in strength."[1]	"The British flotilla consisted of sixteen vessels, with ninety-five guns, and one thousand and fifty men; the American, of fourteen vessels with eighty-six guns, and eight hundred and fifty men."[2]

If the writers of half a century later convey by their accounts of the same details such different impressions, how much more must the conflicting rumours of the day have varied from each other, and how widely different must have been the reports which reached Captain Bradhurst in New York from those which were carried to his cousins, the Afflecks and the Hollands, in London!

Deprived of the support of the British fleet, Prevost withdrew to Canada, and the invasion of New York was ended. In England he was loudly blamed for having delayed to attack Plattsburg until the arrival of the fleet, and for having abandoned such an attempt after the naval defeat. But, the command of the lake being lost, he had but acted in accordance with the strict injunctions which he had received from Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of War, who urged him "not to expose his Majesty's troops to being cut off; and guard against whatever might commit the safety of the forces."[3]

Prevost finally resigned and demanded a court-martial, but he died before it commenced. His conduct in retiring after the surrender of the fleet was assailed by many, but upheld by Wellington. As Commander of the Forces in British North America, Sir George Prevost had on all other occasions, at least, proved himself an able General.

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[1] Knight's *History of England.* [2] Wilson's *History of New York.*

[3] Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst, was Secretary of War and of the Colonies from 1812 to 1827.

It may be interesting here to observe that he was the nephew of Colonel James Marc Prevost,[1] whose wife, Theodosia Bartow (granddaughter of Richard Stillwell and Mercy Sands) played so conspicuous a part in the courtship and marriage of her cousin, Mary Smith, with Samuel Bradhurst; and who, moreover, after the death of Colonel Prevost—a distinguished British officer during the American Revolution—married Colonel Aaron Burr, by whom she became the mother of Theodosia, the mysteriously lost wife of Governor Alston.

The recollections which were stirred in the minds of the Bradhurst family by the name of Prevost in connection with the reports of the invasion of New York at this period, can be but a matter of conjecture. But it is easy to imagine what memories that name must have revived in the parents of Captain Bradhurst—of their romantic meeting at Colonel Prevost's; of the Revolution; of their marriage; of the Colonel's success in Florida; of his death, and of the second marriage of his widow, and of all the events which the name of Aaron Burr recalled.

These recollections of the past were also emphasised in New York on the 25th of the ensuing November, when, to celebrate the thirty-first anniversary of the evacuation by the British, twenty-five thousand troops paraded and marched through Broadway, and among them the 11th Regiment and its noted Company of "Bradhurst's Regulars."

But both England and America were growing weary of a war which was almost fruitless except in the lesson of mutual respect. As far back as 1813 the Emperor of Russia had offered to mediate, and his offer had led to the appointment by both countries of commissioners to negotiate terms of peace at Ghent. These negotiations dragged on through the year 1814.

On the 24th of December the treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, but, in those days, even news of such import could not reach New York in less than about six weeks. Meanwhile Americans had fought and gained a concluding victory at the battle of New Orleans, on 8th January, 1815, the tidings of which reached New York on 6th February; and in the midst of triumphant rejoicings quickly followed

[1] Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*.

the no less welcome intelligence that this victory was the last battle of the war, since the Peace of Ghent had been signed the previous December.

That no enmity is more bitter than that of quondam friends was borne out in this war by the retaliative measures adopted by both British and American Commanders—*and by their Governments;* for both General Hull and General Ross, in the burning of the Canadian village of Newark by the former, and in the burning of the public buildings of Washington by the latter, had but acted "under orders."

But, to the honour of both nations be it said, there were, during this war, in both countries men of no less large-mindedness than patriotism, who dared to raise their voices in protest against these retaliative measures of their Governments. The employment by Great Britain of savage Indians to burn and devastate—a course which during the American Revolution had called forth from Lord Chatham a wrathful speech of unsurpassed eloquence—was now, in this war, deprecated as a barbarous system of warfare in the Proclamation of Sir George Prevost, issued after the burning of Buffalo. On the other hand, the famous Remonstrance of Massachusetts, in which the Legislature of that State accuses the Government of the United States of having entered upon and persevered in a war which, it declared, was "improper, impolitic, and unjust," is a tribute to the American sense of fairness.[1]

The details of the war were soon obliterated from the minds of Englishmen by the rapid succession of that which concerned them more nearly. On the 8th of March London heard of the loss of General Packenham, General Gibbs, and two thousand five hundred men at New Orleans; but on 10th March came the ominous announcement that Bonaparte had escaped from Elba and landed with a thousand men at Antibes.[2] The Peace of Ghent having been concluded, the American war became a thing of the past, and its impression was swept away by the later news.

But in the United States, the barren results of the war were only

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[1] The Remonstrance of Massachusetts was addressed to the Senate and Representatives of the United States on 14th June, 1813.

[2] Diary of Mr. Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1815.

forgotten in the triumph of the final victory at New Orleans, and in the joyous peals of peace which rang throughout the land.

America could justly claim the honours of the war, but the emptiness of those honours has been aptly and impartially described by one of her own distinguished writers:

"The success," he says, "which was too late to affect the negotiations at Ghent, was sufficiently striking to be worth more to the American people than a good peace. It is in reality to the victory of New Orleans that a great part is due of the moral impression which has been left upon the world by the war of 1812—a war imprudently engaged in, feebly conducted, rarely successful, very costly, perfectly sterile in diplomatic results, and, nevertheless, finally as useful to the prestige of the United States as fruitful for them in necessary lessons."[1]

The "Bradhurst Regulars," which had been called into being by this war, ceased to be so known after the conclusion of peace. Captain Bradhurst resigned, leaving behind him a high reputation as the founder of this 4th Company of the 7th Regiment of New York—his activity and ability being handed down in the annals of the Regiment.[2]

Peace was welcomed in New York by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, the display of flags, illuminations, banquets, and universal rejoicings. In celebrating the glad news men buried their knowledge of their crippled commerce in their hopes of future prosperity. Some idea of the injurious effects of the war may be gathered from a comparison of the American exports and imports in the year 1807 with those of the year 1814. In 1807 the United States imported nearly twenty-nine million pounds' worth of merchandise, in 1814 their imports from all parts of the world were only little more than two and a half millions; their exports, fn 1807, amounted to twenty-two millions, but, in 1814, these were reduced to less than two and a half millions.[3] Statistics such as these explain the pardonable pride with which the Bradhurst, Field, and other families see their names amongst the "liberal subscribers to the Government War

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[1] Cornelis de Wit, *Thomas Jefferson.* [2] *History of the Seventh Regiment.*
[3] *Commercial Statistics.*

Loan" of that period. This had indeed been a time of trouble when ship-yards were silent, their cargoes mouldered, and the untrodden wharves grew green. But these hard times were bravely endured, and were quaintly described in a paper of the day:

"No business stirring, all things at a stand,
People complain they have no cash in hand.
'Dull times' re-echoes now from every quarter,
Even from father to the son and daughter.
Merchants cry out, 'No money to be had,'
Grocers say the 'times are very bad';
Mechanics work, but they can get no pay,
Beaux dress genteel, and ladies, too, are gay.
Cash very scarce—dancing twice a week—
Business dull—amusements still we seek.
Some live awhile, and then perhaps they fail,
While many run in debt and go to jail.
The females must have ribbons, gauze, and lace,
And paint besides, to smooth a wrinkled face;
The beaux will dress, go to the ball and play,
Sit up all night, and lay in bed all day,
Brush up an empty pate, look smart and prim,
Follow each trifling fashion or odd whim.
Five shillings will buy a good fat goose,
While turkeys, too, are offered fit for use.
Are those bad times, when persons will profess
To follow fashions, and delight in dress?
No! times are good, but people are to blame,
Who spend too much, and justly merit shame."

CHAPTER III

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST

(Continued)

Soon after the invasion of New York State by Sir George Prevost, Captain Bradhurst's son, William Wilmerding Bradhurst, was born—13th October, 1814—and named after Mrs. Bradhurst's elder brother, William E. Wilmerding. This was about two months before the signing of the Peace of Ghent, and about three months before its glad tidings were received in New York.

The commercial lethargy and stagnation which oppressed New York during the war was followed, on the termination of hostilities, by an extraordinary display of energy and an awakening of brilliant prosperity.

In 1815 John Maunsell Bradhurst, having resigned his captaincy, turned his attention from military affairs—for which there was now no urgent call—to the consideration of more peaceful matters.

It was in August of that year, only six months since the cry of "Peace!" had been welcomed in the streets of New York, that he began adding to the extensive estate which his father already owned. At this time, and again in the following months of September and November, he bought, at intervals, portions of that property known as the "Collect Lots," because of its being the site of the "Collect Pond" of earlier days. The "Pond," which had been of considerable extent and depth,[1] had been filled in, and its site was now divided into "lots" of ground which took their name from it. The name was a corruption of its old Dutch appellation, which appears to have been either "Kolk," a whirlpool, or "Kalk-hoeck," chalk point. This fresh-water pond, which was connected by a rivulet with the East River, had played a considerable part in the history of New York from 1626, when—by

[1] This pond, which is said to have been seventy feet in depth, would in England, on account of its extent, have been called a small "lake."

the ruthless murder at this spot of an Indian by a colonist—the seeds of an Indian war were sown, until the end of the Eighteenth century, when it furnished the best supply of fresh water then obtainable in the City of New York. The purity of its springs had caused its waters to be in great demand for making tea in olden days, and this had led to the erection of the "Tea Water Pump."[1] Later on, the foulness of the "Collect Pond" had given rise to illness and complaint until it was condemned and filled up, and the "Collect Lots" took its malarial place. The mention of the "Pond" recalls the old "Kissing Bridge" which spanned its outlet, and the story of its vicissitudes so interwoven with the history of the city growing round it.[2]

The purchase of some of these lots by John Maunsell Bradhurst occurred about the same time as the death of his great-aunt, Mrs. Maunsell,[3] an event which led to the establishment of his family at Pinehurst—the old "Maunsell Place" at Washington Heights. It was about this time, too, that his parents resigned to him for a nominal sum a considerable share of the family estate, so as to secure it to him, their only son, in a manner which would avoid any question of unfairness towards his sisters which might arise from such a bequest. The apprehension of such a question of favouritism, although almost incomprehensible in England and other countries, was not altogether without cause in the Republic, especially in New York, at that period.

This was followed by the dissolution of the firm of Bradhurst and Field, the papers and accounts of which are of little interest.[4]

In 1820 Mr. Bradhurst's parents gave him, in consideration of their "natural love and affection" and for his "better maintenance," a hundred acres of land on the Hudson River, extending to Haarlem Creek; and also some property near Fort Washington on the east side of the old Kingsbridge Road. The deed was signed by his mother,

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[1] Casks of this water were supplied to people's doors daily!

[2] William IV., when Duke of Clarence, was nearly drowned when skating on the pond, which subsequently became the site of the "Tombs."

[3] Elizabeth, widow of General John Maunsell, daughter of Richard Stillwell and Mercy Sands.

[4] These papers, relating to business transactions, are in the possession of Mr. Bradhurst's grandson, A. M. Bradhurst.

Mary Bradhurst, on the 3rd of March, and by his father, Samuel Bradhurst, on the following day.

Two years later he added to his "Collect Lots" by the purchase of property on Leonard Street.

On the 13th of May, 1822, his youngest son was born, and given the names of Henry Maunsell—"Henry" being after his uncle by marriage, Henry Hamilton Schieffelin. Mr. Schieffelin also had a son named Henry Maunsell, but Henry Maunsell Schieffelin was already in his fourteenth year at the time that his cousin, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, was born.[1]

John Maunsell Bradhurst had now three sons living, Samuel, William, and Henry Maunsell, but the necessity of providing for them did not deter him from increasing his investments in real estate, and time has proved the wisdom of his foresight and judgment. In June he acquired some sixty acres, or thereabouts, at Oyster Bay, in Queen's County; and in 1824 he was again negotiating for the acquisition of more property in New York, in Fourth and Mercer Streets.

His good sense in business and his natural generosity caused him to be consulted in matters of both kinds by his father's former partner, Samuel Watkins, who was also his mother's cousin. Samuel Watkins, the owner of Watkins Glen, was married but had no children; and the esteem in which he held the younger man ripened into an affection which he, and Mrs. Watkins, proved afterwards by a gift of considerable property. But that was not until some thirteen years later, when it occasioned, not unnaturally, some jealousy on the part of those who, by reason of their nearer relationship, had entertained hopes of eventually possessing the Watkins estate, or, at least, the greater part of it. In view, however, of those jealousies and of their regrettable consequences, it is interesting here to observe that as far back as this year, 1825, Samuel Watkins had begun to regard John Maunsell Bradhurst almost in the light of an adopted son. The affection of the elder was fully reciprocated by the respect and admiration of his young kinsman; and they were, at this period, on terms of such close and affectionate intimacy that it frequently occurred that Samuel Watkins would ask his opinion on matters of diverse kinds, and would

[1] Henry Maunsell Schieffelin's only daughter is Mrs. Ernest Crosby.

forward letters of all sorts for his perusal. In most cases these letters —some of which are among the "Watkins Papers" of J. M. Bradhurst, and others he copied—are uninteresting, and relate only to matters of business, such as details concerning the Watkins estate, the opening of the canal, the inquiry into a title to property, and so on. There is, however, one letter among those which Samuel Watkins forwarded in 1825, which is of some family interest, since it recalls the names of relatives now almost forgotten.

The letter, dated from "Pelham, East Chester, 1st November, 1825," runs as follows:

"My dear Doctor Watkins,

"I hardly know how to take the liberty of reminding you of one who so frequently had the pleasure of meeting you at the House of my dear and much respected friend, Mrs. Maunsell—who always told me you were one of the kindest and most benevolent of men; and, this being my opinion of you from my earliest recollection, I need offer no apology for making an application to you on behalf of your charming, but truly distressed, Cousin C—— ——, now Mrs. ——.[1] Her situation is indeed a lamentable one. She is the mother of 7 small children, without the means of support, or of protecting them. Her husband, Mr. ——,[1] is an excellent man, and his most active endeavours to procure adequate employment have as yet proved unavailing. Disappointment, continued privations, and distresses, have preyed upon his mind, and injured his health;—he has just recovered from a long confinement of the Rheumatic Gout . . . and fever. However, that you may form a more just idea of their unparalleled wretchedness, I will transcribe a few lines from poor C——'s letter for your perusal:

"'Alas, winter is approaching rapidly, and I can see no way to provide for it—a quarter's rent is now due—and myself and children literally in want of clothing to protect us against the cold weather—and are even in want of the common necessaries of life.'

"Can you, will you, my dear Doctor Watkins, do something to save your unfortunate and estimable relative from ruin and want? Do, I beseech and entreat you, and may a 'Merciful God' bless and reward you tenfold. Do you not remember this lovely girl—formerly a belle in New York, a petted child, and enjoying every comfort—now reduced to poverty, and dependent upon the bounty of others—? It

[1] The names have been omitted to avoid causing pain to any who might chance to read this page.

grieves me that I am not able to alleviate her afflictions, but I feel sensible that I do not plead with you in vain, and that I afford you one of the highest gratifications that can be enjoyed in this life—that of doing good. Oh! how happy to be able to defend from Cold and Want a large and helpless family, and forever incur their gratitude and blessings!

"I wrote last winter to your sister, just before Christmas, upon the same subject, but have never received any answer. I once flattered myself that I was a favourite of Mrs. Beekman's—therefore felt a little mortified that my letter was unnoticed. Not knowing what to do, I was reduced to the painful necessity of making a public subscription, which could not be done without mentioning her name, and with this trifling sum she was enabled to purchase fuel, and pay her last year's rent—but is not this too humiliating? Some offer as an excuse for not relieving C——, that they have heard reports unfavourable to the character of Mr. ——, but I can solemnly declare that these reports are without foundation. His peculiar situation was brought on by a series of misfortunes, not by any fault of his own.

"My poor brother, Colonel Prevost, was well acquainted with Mr. ——, and spoke very highly of him. Should you wish to write, or send anything to C——, direct your letter to —— —— —— —— ——. My son will give you this letter, and, if it is not trespassing too much on your goodness and time, I will be exceedingly obliged to you if you will write a few lines to assure me you will forgive the liberty I have taken, when perhaps you may forget there is such a being in existence as, yours sincerely and respectfully,

"Louisa C. Palmer.

"I have just received a letter from C——, who has just recovered from a dangerous fever; and their distresses are increased. Do, my dear Doctor Watkins, send me a favorable answer by my son —that you will send her a small donation—$100 will save her from ruin."

It is hardly necessary to say that such an appeal to Samuel Watkins, forwarded by him to John Maunsell Bradhurst, met with a generous response from those two kind-hearted men. The letter, as appears from the address, was delivered to Mr. Watkins, at Haarlem, by "Mr. Augustine Prevost." Thus again the name of Prevost appears in these pages! Augustine Prevost was the "son" to whom Mrs. Palmer refers as the bearer of her letter, and he was probably the bearer also of the kindly reply. He was a young man, scarcely twenty years of age at this time, and he subsequently became Rector of St. John's Church, Canandaigua:

" Sacred
to the memory of the
Rev: Augustine P. Prevost,
only son of the late M^rs. L. C. Palmer,
who departed this life
on the 15th of November 1843,
in the 37th year of his age,
and the 8th of his ministry, 7 years of which
he was Rector of St: John's Church
Canandaigua, N. Y.

" Rest from thy labors, blessed spirit rest;
Tho' early called, God's ways are always best,
Nor need this feeble, partial pen declare
What was thy need, or what thy labors were.
The poor, the desolate, the bad reclaimed
Are mouths for thee, who never wert ashamed
To own thy Master's cause before the great,
Nor heeded frowns while laying bare their state;
A weeping flock, children mourn the loss
Of their lov'd Pastor. Steadfast on the Cross
He kept their gaze—'Watch' was his latest cry." [1]

It must not be supposed that the "poor brother, Colonel Prevost," whom Mrs. Palmer mentions, was *Colonel James Marc* Prevost, who married Theodosia—afterwards Mrs. Burr—the cousin of Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst. Mrs. Palmer was a *great-niece* of Colonel James Marc Prevost, and a niece of General Sir George Prevost. Her father was General Augustine Prevost, and the "brother" whom she quotes was a *Colonel Augustine* Prevost, who had been lost at sea.

The lady, on behalf of whose distressed circumstances Mrs. Palmer pleaded, was a cousin of both Mr. Watkins and Mr. Bradhurst. She had been one of the most admired of the descendants of Richard Stillwell and Mercy Sands, and her beauty had created a sensation in New York. In her early years surrounded by all the luxury that wealth could give, and, after her marriage, reduced by successive misfortunes to such a plight, it is not surprising that Mrs. Palmer's letter had its desired effect, and that Samuel Watkins consulted Mr. Bradhurst as to the best means of assisting their kinswoman.

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[1] *History of Westchester*, Vol. I., p. 244.

The death, in 1826, of his father left John Maunsell Bradhurst in full possession of the Pinehurst, or Maunsell, estate, and he inherited also some valuable property on Broadway. As one of his father's executors his duties were no light matter, for there appears to have been some difficulty about the wording of the Will, and Mr. Bradhurst spared himself neither trouble nor expense in obtaining legal opinions as to its interpretation ; but as the lawyers were not of one mind, the business involved a great deal of trouble and correspondence, which continued for nearly eighteen years. The documents, letters, and papers—some of them covering several pages each—relating to this matter alone number over five hundred and fifty.[1]

These numerous papers include Inventories of the Estate, Furniture, Library, and other valuables of Samuel Bradhurst, and these Inventories are made out and signed by John McKesson and Hickson W. Field. The association of those names raises a smile when one recollects that Mrs. John McKesson (Samuel Bradhurst's daughter, Catherine) married Hickson Field a few years later, after Mr. McKesson's death.

The Inventories comprise an extensive library, in which were many historical works which, at the present date, are rare and difficult to obtain. But one of the most interesting items in these lists is the mention of Mr. Bradhurst's coaches and chariots, which, even at that time, were styled "old-fashioned." How much older must one of the latter have appeared when, towards the close of the Nineteenth century, its purchaser—a hotel proprietor—displayed it in his yard as "General Washington's old coach"!

Among these papers, too, there is a letter, dated 1853, to John Maunsell Bradhurst from six of his nephews, in which they express their appreciation of the pains-taking manner in which he had managed their interest in the estate of their grandfather, Samuel Bradhurst, during so many years. The letter is signed by "H. M. Schieffelin, Samuel B. Schieffelin, James Schieffelin, Sidney Augustus Schieffelin, Bradhurst Schieffelin, and Philip Schieffelin." Besides letters and documents, there are a great number of receipts for sums paid by

[1] They are in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst, by whom they have all been thoroughly examined.

J. M. Bradhurst as executor, and these bear the signatures of his mother, his sisters, his children, and his nephews and nieces. The receipts of his sister Catherine are signed "C. A. McKesson" down to September, 1830, but in December of the same year she signed herself "C. A. Field." This lady's change of name is quaintly referred to in a bill for articles supplied on the occasion of her second marriage as "*the late Mrs. McKaison alias now* Mrs. Field"!

Mr. Bradhurst bought, in 1828, some property at the corner of Green and Houston Streets, where, about fifty-five years later, his son, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, erected the "Bradhurst Building."[1] At the time of purchase there were some mortgages on the property, two of the mortgagees being Mr. Gerard Beekman and Mr. Bradhurst's brother-in-law, Mr. W. E. Wilmerding.

Mr. Bradhurst owned some property in Pearl Street, and some of the papers relating to it in 1831, are endorsed as being "correct" by a Mr. C——. Two years later, Mr. Bradhurst contemplated becoming a partner in this gentleman's business, but finding the other's affairs were involved, Mr. Bradhurst dropped the matter, although not until he had, with his usual generosity, advanced several thousands for his friend's assistance.

There are among his letters proofs of many similar instances of his kindheartedness, which, having been thus alluded to, it is best not to dwell upon in detail. What he gave was given without ostentation, and it would be inconsiderate to name those whom he befriended privately, or to disclose the contents of his most private letters.

[1] This property eventually came into the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD "ALMS HOUSE" OF NEW YORK

It was characteristic of him that his name should be associated with various schemes for the improvement of the Asylum and the Alms House, and that he should take an active interest in all that pertained to the welfare of the unfortunate. The kindliness of his disposition, the discipline of his military training, and his knowledge of medicine, combined to render him well-fitted for such undertakings. He was elected a member of the College of Pharmacy in 1836, as appears from the following letter:

"*New York,*
"*Feb: 12th, 1836.*

"*John M. Bradhurst Esq:*

"Sir,

"At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the College of Pharmacy of the City of New York held on the evening of the 5th inst: you were duly elected a member of the College.

"From the minutes by
"Geo. D. Coggeshall,
"Sec."

The Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane, which had been founded in 1815, had incurred a debt of $137,000, but by judicious management this was finally discharged in 1845.

The Alms House, which had been established in Chambers Street in 1807 with the authority of the Department of Public Charities and Correction, had been transferred in 1816 for more accommodation to Bellevue, formerly the country seat of Lindley Murray. The result of this was the Bellevue Hospital.

As a Commissioner of the Alms House Mr. Bradhurst became deeply interested, in 1841, in the promotion of a movement for the erection of some much-needed public buildings at the end of Sixty-first Street, and for the proper regulation of the Ferry plying between

that point and Blackwell's Island. This would tend to place the convicts on the island under necessary control, and would put an end to a state of things which was then a scandal to the City, and which is thus described in a newspaper of the day:

"From the fact that the Corporation of our city own no property nor buildings at this point (61st Street), the efforts of the Keepers of the prison, as well as the Commissioners, are rendered almost abortive, so far as any moral improvement of the convicts is concerned, as it is impossible for them to prevent daily communication between the prisoners and their confederates in the city, through the crew of the ferry boats—who are convicts.—This fact, together with the opportunity afforded them of purloining articles from the Island, and disposing of them for liquor and other prohibited stimulants—as well as the chance for escape—from their frequent detention at the wharf, particularly in the winter season, in connection with the exposure at inclement seasons of those afflicted with contagious diseases, who are sent to the several hospitals on the Island, all tend to point out the urgent necessity for the city to possess itself of property sufficient, adjoining the ferry, for the erection of such buildings and enclosures as the public interests demand."

After giving some particulars of the property required by the City, the same article continues:

"The owner of this property has rendered every assistance in his power towards sheltering the unfortunate beings who are now daily exposed at the foot of this street at all seasons, and in all kinds of weather, and it is a disgrace to the authorities of this great and thriving city, thus to neglect to provide suitable accommodations for the sick, insane, and security of the prisoners, and rely entirely upon the charity of a private individual to afford them shelter, who in such neglect has just and good cause for grievous complaint at being thus daily, nay almost hourly, annoyed."

In order to put an end to this disgraceful condition of affairs, Mr. Bradhurst presented the following communication, on behalf of the Commissioners of the Alms House, to the Common Council of the City of New York, in 1841:

"The Commissioners of the Alms House respectfully represent to the Common Council the necessity there is for the immediate

possession by the City of the property at the foot of Sixty-first Street.

"The evils that now exist in the management, discipline and good government of the Penitentiary Department on Blackwell's Island—from the daily communications of prisoners with friends and companions in the City, through the crew of the ferry boats; the opportunity afforded them of purloining articles from the Island, and of selling them or exchanging them for liquor, tobacco, and other things; the public exposure of the prison carriage to the gibes and insults of the throng who congregate to witness the disembarkation of the convicts, and the opportunities afforded for escape from their frequent detention on the dock a length of time waiting the arrival—especially in winter—of the boat—render almost abortive every effort of the Commissioners for any moral improvement in the Institution.

"The Commissioners would also remind the Common Council of the public exposure of the lunatics, and the sick, daily sent to the several hospitals on the Island; the very great risk incurred from an aggravation of their complaints from the inclemency of the weather; and their deprivation of every shelter and protection for hours, from the frequent obstructed navigation of the river by ice.

"The Commissioners are of the opinion that most of the existing difficulties and inconveniences might be obviated, were the Common Council the owners of the property, by the construction of walls of sufficient height and extent as would enclose ample space for the erection of such buildings as may be necessary, and of such character as would prevent all unpermitted communications with the City.

"The Commissioners, in addition, recommend the grading and Macadamizing of Sixty-first Street from the Fourth Avenue to the river, as it is very often in an impassable condition, and at times almost useless for the business purposes of the prison and other establishments. The Commissioners would further add, that they have understood from unquestionable authority that the present owner of the property is disposed to exchange it on equitable terms for other and more productive property belonging to the Common Council."

Mr. Bradhurst was also one of those who addressed a letter on the same subject to the Committee on Charity, one of whom was his eldest son, Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst. The latter Committee replied, approving the suggestions of the Commissioners, and passed a resolution that the Comptroller should be directed to enter into negotiations with the owner of the property in Sixty-first Street (Mr. Towle), and that the question of macadamizing the street "be referred to the Committee on Roads, together with the Street Commissioner, for a more full report." Samuel Bradhurst, at this time Assistant Alderman and

subsequently an Alderman of the city, was among those who supported the improvements advocated by his father and the Commissioners. The Board of Assistant Aldermen made a favourable report on the matter to the Board of Aldermen, but there it was strenuously opposed, not because the scandalous condition of affairs could be denied, nor on account of any difficulty in its abolishment, but because many of the Aldermen were—forsooth!—*politically* opposed to the supporters of this much-needed reform!

The sacrifice of the public weal to personal feeling—the influence of unscrupulous methods in politics—the preponderance of unscrupulous men in public affairs—their power to veto honest and disinterested efforts—the conduct, in short, of these Aldermen on this occasion, and of others holding similar offices on other occasions—were the causes of John Maunsell Bradhurst's abhorrence of public officialdom, and for that reason he shrunk from accepting a public post, and would not seek to enter Congress or to become Mayor.

In the *New York Planet* of 21st July, 1841, the following appeared:

"We clip the following paragraph from the *New Era* of yesterday morning for the purpose of expressing the strongest approbation of it. We are glad the *New Era* has thought proper to refer to the extraordinary and unprecedented proceeding on the part of the Board of Aldermen. That paper says:

> "'The Committee on Charity and the Alms House, at the last meeting of the Board of Aldermen, called up their report relative to the necessity of making the city owner of sufficient property at the foot of 61st street, as is requisite for the establishment of a ferry to Blackwell's Island &c., &c. This report, although a very important one, was not sustained, for the reason, doubtless, that the subject was but little understood by the members of the Board. We cannot forbear mentioning the fact that the conduct of Alderman Benson, the federal representative of the Ward, in procuring the defeat of the objects of the report was unusual for that gentleman, and certainly unbecoming. The chairman of the Alms House Committee, Alderman Bradhurst,[1] of the 12th Ward, has just reason to complain of the manner in which himself and

[1] S. S. Bradhurst (eldest son of John Maunsell Bradhurst), who was then a young man of thirty.

his report were treated by Mr. Benson. Instead of replying to its arguments and provisions, he had recourse to the puerile stratagem of raising a question as to its authorship, and some very undignified allusions to the age of Alderman Bradhurst. This mode of attack should not be tolerated—it is insulting to the gentleman assailed, and insulting to the people of the Ward he represents. As the report of Alderman Bradhurst was *not even read at the meeting alluded to*, it is to be hoped that some one of the gentlemen who voted in the *majority* will move a *reconsideration*, that the merits of the question may be thoroughly discussed, and decided accordingly.'

"This is the only instance," continues the *New York Planet*, "we have ever heard of the *rejection* of a report, regularly made by a committee of a deliberate body, without a reading. We join our contemporary in the hope that some one of the democratic members who voted in the majority will move a reconsideration out of respect to Alderman Bradhurst and the Ward he represents, if for no other reason."

The need for such alterations as those suggested by John Maunsell Bradhurst, and advocated by his son, Alderman Samuel Bradhurst, was made clear in another newspaper,[1] a few days later, under the heading of "*A New City Post Office*":

"Two persons fishing in the East River, opposite Blackwell's Island, on Monday last, while on shore within a few yards of the Ferry, at the foot of Sixty-first Street, in search of a stone for an anchor to moor their boat in the river, discovered several letters snugly deposited between two large rocks, addressed to several desperate convicts confined on the Island for the commission of daring offences. These letters, it is supposed, are regularly deposited by the accomplices of the rogues in prison, and conveyed to the Island by some one of the convicts employed in rowing the ferry boat that lands at the foot of the above-mentioned street. The Keepers of the Island have endeavoured to prevent this source of communication between convicts and their confederates, by every means in their power, but without success. One of the letters found was in German, and another in some mysterious character, known perhaps only to the writer and the convict for whom it was intended."

The newspaper then proceeds:

"We take the above article from one of our city morning papers

[1] *New Era*, Saturday, 24th July, 1841.

of yesterday, for the purpose of illustrating the great necessity for the erection of suitable buildings, at the foot of Sixty-first Street, by the Corporation, where the convicts who are employed in rowing the ferry boat, can be detained while on shore. We understand that the fact of the conveyance of letters to the Island by these persons has long since been known to the police of this city, and that they have strenuously exerted themselves to prevent this means of correspondence, but without effect. This arises from the fact that the Corporation own no property at the foot of this street, and therefore have no place of detention on this side of the river, neither for the convicts engaged in the transportation of persons across, nor for the protection of those afflicted with diseases that render exposure to the chills of winter, or the heat of summer, almost certain death. We shall refer to this matter again, not doubting but that the facts of the case will call forth a unanimous expression of feeling in favor of such a measure."

Nothing was immediately done in the matter, but it was not allowed to drop, for the advantages to be derived from carrying into effect Mr. Bradhurst's proposal were sufficiently manifest to raise an outcry against its rejection from motives which were alike unworthy and petty. The *New York Planet* of the 3rd August again reverted to the subject, concluding with the hope that "for the honour of the city" it might not be allowed to be thus dismissed.

"It is a farce," said that paper, "upon the city legislation, and reflects little credit either upon the humanity or sound sense of that board" (*i.e.* the Board of Aldermen). "It appears that the Committee recommended an exchange of city property for the requisite property at the foot of 61st street—therefore the economical scruples of Alderman Benson should be satisfied, and if the worthy Alderman will but allow feeling of private hostility to give place to a proper sense of his public duties, the city may yet avail itself of a great public advantage in the adoption of the measures recommended by the Committee."

These public remonstrances at last had their effect, and it was finally decided that the question of spending public money for the abolition of these existing scandals, should again be brought before the Board of Aldermen. The whole matter was dwelt upon in detail in a leading article of the *New Era* of the 4th August, which apologised for its length on the score of the importance of the subject, and in which it urged the public to demonstrate to the Aldermen the proper

course for the latter to pursue when the question should again be presented to them.

A few years later Mr. Bradhurst retired from the Commissionership of the New York Alms House (the outcome of which was the Bellevue Hospital), and was thereupon presented with an ivory and silver tablet bearing an inscription acknowledging his services.

He was particularly interested in the kind treatment and welfare of its insane and afflicted inmates, and for this purpose frequently visited both the Alms House and the Asylum. On one occasion he was accompanied by his daughter—afterwards Mrs. Field, but at that time a girl in her 'teens—and on their arrival he left her in a waiting-room while he went off on his round of inspection accompanied by a matron. After some moments a lady in rustling silks, with a formidable bunch of keys at her side, entered the room where Miss Bradhurst was seated, and, entering into conversation, gave her a graphic description of the illusions under which some of the patients were labouring.

"Would you like to see the poor afflicted things?" asked the lady, jingling her keys.

But Miss Bradhurst shrank timidly from the offer.

"Never mind, my dear, then you shan't; although you would be perfectly safe with *me*, you know." The lady smiled kindly. "But I will stay here with you, my dear, until your papa returns, so you will have no cause to be nervous in this horrid place."

When Mr. Bradhurst and the matron returned, the latter drew aside with the sweetly smiling lady of the silks and keys, and Miss Bradhurst was horrified to learn from her father that she had been confiding her fears to one of the most violent of the lunatics!

CHAPTER V

HIS POLITICAL OPINIONS

In politics Mr. Bradhurst was a "Democrat"—that is to say, a Democrat as "Democrats" were then—in the "forties"—and he belonged to that section of his party called the "Equal Rights Party," whom the Whigs had nicknamed Loco focos, and whose headquarters were at Tammany Hall. The sobriquet, it is generally known, was derived from the old-fashioned "loco foco" sulphur matches then in use, and at that time a novelty. The incident which gave rise to it was the difficulty experienced in lighting the gas—which had recently been introduced into the city—at a performance at the old Park Theatre, when gas was used there for the first time. A well-known Democrat in the audience came to the rescue with a loco foco, and the name of his successful match was soon applied to his party.[1] It was one of the fundamental principles of this party to oppose every kind of monopoly or special charter. It was strenuously opposed to Clay's National Bank Bill. Excitement ran high on this point. The newspapers devoted long columns to it. The Repeal of the Charter was discussed at a "Great Mass Meeting" of the Democrats of New York, held in the Park, on Thursday, the last day of September. Speeches were made, songs were sung, and the popular song of the party was the "Democratic Repeal Song," which, to the air of "Hurrah! Hurrah!" ran as follows:

"Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Then spread your glorious banners high,
Let songs of Freemen rend the sky,
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!

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[1] Hammond's *Political History of New York.*

"Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
If British Bankers bind us down,
Like abject slaves to Britain's crown,
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!

"Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Should this dire monster rear its head,
By all the blood our fathers shed,
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!

"Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Then to the rescue Freemen bold,
And like your sires spurn British gold,
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!

"Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
That gallant flag waves o'er us glorious!
Hark! on the winds come shouts 'VICTORIOUS!'
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!
Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!"

At that monster meeting on the 30th of September, 1841, John Maunsell Bradhurst was one of the "Repeal Corresponding Committee of the City of New York," then appointed. The Committee held a meeting on Wednesday, the 4th August, at Tammany Hall, which, with their names, was published in the papers of the day.[1] These names included many which are noteworthy in the history of the city of New York, such as Benjamin F. Butler—the distinguished lawyer (a descendant of Cromwell), who was one of the three Commissioners appointed to revise the Statutes of New York, a member of the Legislature, Attorney-General of the United States under President Jackson, chief Professor of Law in the University of New York, and a founder

[1] *New Era*, Wednesday, 4th August, 1841.

of the New Juvenile Asylum, etc., etc.; Stephen Allen, of Hyde Park, on the Hudson, who was twice Mayor, and a Senator, and a distinguished member of the Court of Errors; Walter Bowne, of an old Quaker family, of Flushing, Long Island, who had been three successive terms a Senator, and for five successive years Mayor; James T. Brady, an original member of the "Union Defense Committee," in 1863, and one of the founders of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; Prosper Wetmore, the distinguished General, also an original member of the "Union Defense Committee"; and last, but not least, may be mentioned Samuel J. Tilden, who was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, in 1846, and one who later took a leading part in the great civil contest; he was one of those who, in 1861, promoted the "Pine Street Meeting"—a last effort to bring to a peaceful conclusion the questions at issue between the North and South; his name ranks high among the exposers of corruption, the political reformers of his time, and it is perpetuated not only in the chronicle of his actions, but also by the Tilden Library which he founded. There were others, no less honourable and scarcely less noted, who were appointed to the "Repeal Corresponding Committee," but such, briefly, were some of those with whom Mr. Bradhurst's name was publicly associated.

CHAPTER VI

THE TROUBLES OF A LANDOWNER

THE opening of the Tenth Avenue, and the construction of the great Croton Aqueduct were sources of considerable vexation and annoyance to John Maunsell Bradhurst, by reason not only of the heavy increase in taxation and assessment, but also on account of the inconvenience and expenditure arising in consequence.

The Avenue was opened through the Pinehurst Estate at a point described as "near the nine-mile stone."[1]

Mr. Bradhurst had been induced to cede some *five acres* to the Corporation for this purpose, but the unexpected grading of Tenth Avenue on account of the Aqueduct involved him in expenses which alone were equal to the amount of the increased assessments, against which he petitioned. As to the Aqueduct, the fire of 1828—when six hundred thousand dollars' worth of property was destroyed in New York—sufficiently showed the need for a better water supply to the City. The waters of the River Croton had been finally chosen as the best and most suitable, and were to be conveyed forty miles from near the mouth of that river.[2] But the detrimental effect which this great improvement to the City had upon Mr. Bradhurst's estate, and the loss, expenditure, and annoyance to which he was for the time subjected, are best shown in his own petitions and letters addressed to the Common Council and the Water Commissioners. These communications, petitions, and complaints date from 1838, and extend over a period of nearly ten years.[3] To the Water Commissioners he wrote:

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[1] Pinehurst was distant about eight miles from the old City Hall.

[2] The river derived its name from Croton, a great Indian chief and the principal Sachem of Kitchtawan, who exercised his authority at the mouth of that river about the year 1680.

[3] They are in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I understand that you have determined to carry the Aqueduct through my Farm by the way of the 10th Avenue, and to raise a barrier of earth, immediately at the rear of my Mansion, of several feet in height, intercepting the view, injurious in other respects, interfering with improvements that have cost me large sums, rendering it necessary hereafter to preserve the elevation thus created, making it necessary to adapt all future improvements thereto, and thus preventing the use of a vast body of earth for regulating the low grounds on my premises, or of disposing of it to others for the same purpose. It is believed by everyone that the time will come when the height will have to be greatly reduced. I ceded the Tenth Avenue to the Corporation for the purpose of an Avenue under particular circumstances, and I have been informed by the Street Commissioner that, if used for that purpose alone, no permanent filling would be required. Under other circumstances than its use in the manner now proposed by you, beside the filling as stated above, there would be enough surplus earth to fill in the shores of the Hudson—on which my farm now borders—to the 11th and 12th Avenues. This work will no doubt be required fifty, or sixty, years hence. I therefore submit this communication for your deliberation, and beg you to see if there be not a possibility of avoiding the great injury which I shall otherwise sustain —if not, a sense of justice to my Family will impel me, contrary to my inclination, to seek to obtain redress.

"With sentiments of great respect towards you personally,

"I am

"yours &c

"J, M. BRADHURST."

In a list of the "General damages occasioned by the elevation of the grade of Tenth Avenue for the accommodation of the Aqueduct," Mr. Bradhurst, after clearly setting forth his own suggestions in all detail, proceeds to enumerate his own grievances as follows:

"The establishing of an unnecessary and unsightly grade depreciating the value of my property, rendering it difficult to grade my land for want of earth:

"Cutting off the water course in the Watkins Lot, thus subjecting my Lands and drains both to damage, and expense for repairing and maintaining them:

"Cutting off the course of Water from the vicinity of the Barn, which formerly was West:

"Subjecting the Garden to the recurrence of similar past damages, if the drain along the 10th Avenue should from any cause be checked:

"The cutting off the Water Course from the South West Lots, next to Mr. Remington's, which were in part carried East, and thus rendering the land subject to be inundated by heavy storms, and the drains more expensive to be maintained."

He also explains how the Aqueduct, by its elevation, would interfere with the access from one part of his property to another, and its consequent depreciation, and the necessary alterations and other expenses and inconveniences which would ensue. Apparently, his appeal to the Water Commissioners was unavailing, for on the 16th March, 1840, he addressed the following petition:

"To the Honourable the Common Council of the City of New York;

"The undersigned most respectfully represents that he has been assessed in the sum of $1052·19 for the opening of the Tenth Avenue through his farm near the nine-mile stone—that, besides the top of about five acres of Land which he ceded to the Corporation, he is involved in an expenditure of nearly a like sum for fences, and other regulations, thereby rendered absolutely necessary. It is not believed by any one, nor is it at all probable, that it will be used as an 'Avenue' for many years to come; for the Water Commissioners are now tunnelling through the rocks near Manhattanville, a little south of his premises, and this operation, with the great height of the rocks, seems to forbid such an idea. The Commissioners are now progressing with the work in the rear of his house, and are establishing the grade of the Avenue, solely for the accommodation of the Aqueduct, from 12 to 20 feet higher than the present grade—and some 30 or 40 feet higher than would be otherwise necessary in view of future regulations. The effect is to *obstruct his view of the Hudson and of the opposite shore* by an unsightly sand barrier, and to cut him off from improvements which have required years of labour and a great expenditure of money.

"He requests that your Honourable Body will, by your Committee, visit the premises, and view the destruction of his property and the great injury he has sustained in its actual value, for which he asks such redress as may be considered just and equitable. He further remarks that the land was ceded by him to the Corporation by the advice of the then Street Commissioner—after having found that further opposition to the opening of the Avenue would be unavailing—in the belief that it would be used as a Highway and for no other purpose. He remonstrated in vain with the Water Commissioners against its use by them, and fully placed before them the damages which he was likely to sustain.

"Respectfully submitted by
"J. M. BRADHURST."

Mr. Bradhurst's mention of his "view of the Hudson and of the opposite shore" may still recall to some the beautiful surroundings of Pinehurst: its rural charms, its spreading trees and sweeping lawns, its gardens, its broad acres stretching across from river to river, and all the old land-marks and the scenery which is changed or gone—and yet, in a sense, remains—for the rivers flow on, and the Palissades still frown, as of yore, upon the waters of Manna-hata,[1] although the traces of Pinehurst—which traversed the whole breadth of Manhattan Island—have been absorbed in the rapid growth of the great *City of New York*.

The changes of half a century would, perhaps, surprise him and his contemporaries as much as the aspect of the Island in their time would have astonished their early predecessors of the New Netherlands, and yet more even than the latter's rude "settlements" and "forts" overawed the aboriginal race, to whom History has—because of their river—assigned the name of "Manhattan."

In another letter Mr. Bradhurst points out that the "five or more acres" which he ceded to the Corporation were abundantly planted with expensive fruit-trees,[2] and that he had ceded them on the express understanding that the Tenth Avenue, when opened, should be used and graded, etc., as a highway, and for that purpose only. He concludes by saying that, "A sense of duty has compelled him to enter into details, perhaps unnecessary, and to offer this as his Remonstrance against that which he considers oppression."

Mr. Bradhurst wrote letters on the same subject to Mr. Jervis and Mr. Hastie, and William W. Fox; and he has left many memoranda and lists of the injuries of which he complained. From these it is clear that he was not opposed to the construction of so great a benefit to the city as the much-needed Aqueduct, but that he took umbrage, as a large landowner, at the high-handed manner in which he was treated, and that he objected to, and demanded compensation for, the injurious effects of its construction upon his property. A few items from these memoranda will sufficiently show that he had good cause for complaint: the water courses on his lands were interfered with,

[1] *i.e.* the Hudson River.

[2] There are numerous receipts for such trees among his papers.

and had to be repaired and altered; many of his trees and fences were destroyed, and the roofs of several farm-buildings and of a cottage were damaged by the blasting of rocks near by; streams were obstructed, and through his pleasure gardens new pipes had to be laid, entailing the regravelling of paths, and especially of the broad "Middle Walk"; a channel had to be cut leading to the "Ravine," and these alterations affected his "Fish Ponds"; the drainage being thus interfered with, some of his lands were thrown out of cultivation for more than a year, and a field of oats was greatly damaged by the inundations caused; whilst along the "French Shore" of the River, between "Watkins Line" and "Stone Bridge," a potato field was swept away into the River—leaving the rocks beneath practically bare! This entailed the reparation and enlargement of some costly stone-work, and, without quoting all the explanatory details, it may be briefly stated that this, too, was caused by the works in connection with the new Aqueduct. Nor was this all, for the "Fish Ponds" were more than once spoilt; a meadow—"the South West meadow" —and two others adjoining it, were rendered marshy and useless for over a year, and the roads across the estate had to be not only repaired, but in some cases altered so much as to amount almost to the making of entirely new ones. This is but an epitome of the catalogue of his grievances, but sufficient at least to render it small wonder that Mr. Bradhurst was persistent in his claim for compensation.

Finally the completion of the Aqueduct was celebrated, in the autumn of 1842, by a procession both military and civil, by the pealing of bells, the firing of cannons, and by many other displays of public rejoicing such as New York had rarely ever witnessed. But the Aqueduct cost the Bradhurst estate dearly, for Mr. Bradhurst eventually received as compensation but a very small proportion of the large amount which he had lost, or been obliged to spend in repairs.

CHAPTER VII

A FAMILY DISPUTE

The affection and intimacy existing between John Maunsell Bradhurst and his aged relative, Samuel Watkins, have been already referred to. In 1818 the latter conveyed to Mr. Bradhurst various "Farm lots and pieces of land," according to an "escrow," by which William L. Watkins and John F. Watkins were to obtain for Mr. Bradhurst certain releases of property from the heirs of John Maunsell Watkins. In due course the conditions were fulfilled and the documents delivered, and Mr. Bradhurst thus acquired from Samuel Watkins a large portion of the lands of his brother, John Maunsell Watkins, with the full knowledge and consent of the latter's sons and daughters, John F. Watkins; Charles Watkins; Lydia, Mrs. Beebe; and Susan, Mrs. Hammersley.

In 1843 Mr. Bradhurst purchased from Samuel Watkins and his wife, Cynthia, two pieces of land adjoining the Pinehurst Estate: the one lying between the Kingsbridge Road and Tenth Avenue, and 148th and 149th Streets, and the other between 150th and 151st Streets and extending from the Eleventh Avenue to the Hudson River—"to the line of High Water" on Twelfth Avenue.

These transactions seem to have afforded Samuel Watkins great satisfaction, and it appears to have been his wish that the Watkins lands should be united to the Bradhurst acres, and that they should be possessed by his favourite cousin, John Maunsell Bradhurst, rather than by his Watkins nephews and nieces. About this period both Samuel Watkins and his wife wrote to Mr. Bradhurst, announcing their intention of making over to him several hundred acres on account of their being childless, and because of the affection and esteem in which they held him. Their motive for assigning so much of their property during their lives appears to have been the fear that a Will making their cousin the heir, might be set aside, or disputed by their nearer relatives. That their fears were not without foundation was

eventually proved, in after years, by the legal proceedings instituted by some of the Watkins family with a view to diminishing the dower and jointure of Mrs. Watkins. It was an odd coincidence that Mr. Bradhurst thus received a large share of the Watkins estate from Samuel Watkins by deed of gift, and not by testamentary bequest, in much the same way and for much the same reason as, in former years, he had received from his father and mother the estate of Pinehurst, during their lifetime.

In February, 1844, he again purchased some of the Watkins property, about seven acres between 149th and 151st Streets and Tenth and Eleventh Avenues; but it was in 1848 that he acquired the greater portion of the Watkins lands, namely, a hundred and forty acres in the town of Dix, Chemung County, and two hundred and twenty acres in the town of Orange, Steuben County, in the State of New York. Two years later Samuel and Cynthia Watkins gave him, further, a tract of land at Jefferson, Chemung County. Thus possessed of so many hundreds of acres of the Watkins estate, it is scarcely surprising that his acquisitions were viewed with some jealousy by those who had considered themselves the heirs. But long before he owned it, Mr. Bradhurst had superintended the management of some of this property, in the absence of Samuel Watkins, where it adjoined his own lands, and where they had the same interests, as in the case of the injuries caused by the operations of the Water Commissioners. In a letter on this subject Mr. Bradhurst wrote:

"Mr. Carman and myself have taken this course, and hope in your case you will approve, a very heavy expense for stone sewers to carry the waters West which formerly flowed East. This was rendered necessary by the interruption of their course by the Aqueduct, as also to prevent the noisome effect of a large body of stagnant water."

In the above letter Mr. Bradhurst also says:

"I thank you for the prescription for my eyes; it has been tried but without effect. I will again use it. The injury was occasioned by an accidental blow; there is no inflammation, and the appearance, to a common observer, is not altered. I see very little with it, and its tendency is to confuse the sight of the other eye, so that I am frequently compelled to close it."

Mr. Bradhurst, who was now fifty-six years of age, was living almost entirely at his beautiful country seat, devoting himself to its improvement and to the reparation of the damages caused by the construction of the Aqueduct. On 2nd January, 1848, he wrote to Mr. Watkins from Pinehurst:

"Respected Friend,

"The object of the present letter is as much to inquire after the state of your health—for it is rumoured here that you are, or have been dangerously ill—as to inform you of the result of my suit with the Water Commissioners: after having several hearings and having progressed almost to a close with my witnesses, further proceedings were delayed by the Commissioners, and Arbitrators, to pass over the heat of the Summer. When they were about to be resumed, they were finally arrested by the death of Mr. Thomas R. Smith early in the Fall; since then the time has been consumed by the difficulty of determining whether the two remaining arbitrators would be competent to make an award. Mr. Whiting, the opposing Counsel, insisted on the appointment of one other, to which I assented; and he named Samuel Gilfert, who was agreed to by Mr. Clark, who took immediate steps to have his name inserted in the Commission, but was not met, from some cause or other, by the other party, who insisted that an entirely new Commission should be called and the whole testimony gone over again. Fearing the delay, trouble, and expense, I entertained their proposition for a compromise; and, after some negotiation, agreed to accept $4,600 free from all costs. This is but a poor remuneration for having expended nearly $3,000 in repairs, exclusive of the great damage done to my property by establishing an arbitrary high grade, solely for the accommodation of the Aqueduct.

"Mr. Clark will press on your case for damages, which consist in the very high grade of the Avenue;—at least 16 or 18 feet higher than would, but for the Aqueduct, have been thought of—thus rendering your lands (contrary to the actual fact when compared to their height above high water), comparatively low for cutting off the natural flow East of the water by means of the Aqueduct; and rendering those adjacent to the Aqueduct a morass, covered two or more feet with water after every rain, and thus requiring a very heavy, and otherwise unnecessary, expense to carry the water West by means of stone sewers (through my lands) at least 1,000 feet, and constant and unavoidable expense for maintaining them, since they have to carry not only the water thus retained on the lands, but that which has been forced through them from Carman's, the Cemetery, and the Tenth Avenue.

"In addition to the expense of grading and fitting these, there

are some remote technicalities that may interfere as to a recovery in consequence of the grade. Mr. Clark so advised me, therefore I accepted a much less sum than I believed myself entitled to.

"In your case I will exert myself to see that your claims are not overlooked, and will keep you from time to time fully advised.

"If anything suggests itself by way of advice or information that you may deem useful, let me hear from you.

"Present to Mrs. Watkins the Compliments of the Season, and accept the affectionate regard

"of your Friend &c.

"J. M. BRADHURST.

"My eyes refuse their further aid.

"*Washington Heights,*

"*Jan: 2nd, 1848.*"[1]

Many letters passed between the friends on business matters connected with the damage done to the Watkins property by the Croton Aqueduct, and their wives, too, exchanged news periodically, but they do not seem to have met for a considerable period, and yet so great was the affection of Samuel Watkins for his relative that it was during this long separation from him that he and Mrs. Watkins presented Mr. Bradhurst with a further share of their estate. But although absent from each other, they frequently wrote long letters full of affection and sympathy with each other's troubles or ailments.

In his letter of 11th October, 1848, written to Mr. and Mrs. Bradhurst jointly, from Jefferson, Samuel Watkins says:

"My dear friends, I have been too ill since the receipt of your two letters, dated the 11th and 20th of September last, to write, and I had like to have forgot the one dated October last. You sent to me a valuable Book on Deafness. If an Institution on the subject of deafness should be established in New York, I would have probably an opportunity to be relieved. I am acquainted with several Physicians there, who, I think, would be extremely valuable in such an Institution; otherwise I am in danger of being worse if possible, and am now worse than when you were here."

Two years later he and Mrs. Watkins presented Mr. Bradhurst

[1] J. M. Bradhurst's "Letter Book," in which his more important letters were copied (and initialled) by his sons, William and Henry Maunsell.

with some land not only on account of the affection which they bore him, but because, too, they wished to show their appreciation of all the trouble he had been to in the management of that portion of their property which was near his own, and was consequently similarly affected by the construction of the Aqueduct. Shortly before making this gift they came to New York; but Mr. Bradhurst, being at Pinehurst, did not hear of their coming until afterwards, and so the relatives did not meet. The deeds were brought to him by a mutual friend, and he received a letter on the subject from Mr. Freer, Samuel Watkins' lawyer. In acknowledgment Mr. Bradhurst wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Watkins:

"Since my last letter we have heard from you through Mr. Orlando Hurd, giving the most satisfactory reason for not seeing you when here, although it caused us much regret that we were for that cause unable to pay you the attention we desired. We have also heard of you by letter from Mr. Freer, for which please to make our acknowledgment to him with our thanks.

"By Mr. Hurd your munificent gift of a deed for a Block of land was received, as you are pleased to say for services rendered and for good will; in the latter sense it is most highly appreciated; whatever services I may have rendered you were fully compensated by the pleasure and gratification experienced by us.

"Mr. Clark is pressing on your claim for damages against the Croton Water Commissioners. You were informed that Mr. Carman settled with them for $10,000; this settlement makes a precedent for your suit. Mr. Carman is a man of untiring energy and great influence —my damages, although more than double, were previously settled for $4,500!

"We propose to ourselves the pleasure of paying you a visit some time in the course of the next Summer, and hope that nothing may interfere to prevent it.

"Although rather late, please accept the Compliments of the Season with our best wishes for your health and welfare.

"Believe us with great sincerity to be your affectionate friends at Pinehurst.

"J. M. BRADHURST.

"*Jan: 22nd, 1851.*"

This was the last letter that Mr. Bradhurst wrote to his aged relative, whose reply was written by Mr. George Freer, the Watkins family lawyer—"our legal adviser," as Mr. Watkins called him.

Mr. Freer wrote that the promised visit of Mr. and Mrs. Bradhurst afforded their cousins great pleasure, but that Mr. Watkins' health was failing, and that, on account of his advanced age, he would be glad to hear soon that Mr. H. F. Clark had succeeded in bringing his claim against the Croton Water Commissioners to a successful issue.

Three months later, just as Mr. and Mrs. Bradhurst were contemplating the fulfilment of their promised summer visit, two letters reached them (dated 10th May, 1851), announcing the death of Samuel Watkins in his eighty-third year. These letters—the one written by Mr. Freer, and the other by Mr. David Tuttle (who had married Lydia, daughter of Charles Watkins, and niece of the deceased[1])—both mention that Samuel Watkins retained his mental faculties, and was conscious almost to the last. These statements are noteworthy in view of the insinuations which were afterwards made. The funeral took place at Jefferson on the 12th May, and the Will was to be proved on the 15th of the following July, but that it seems was delayed as appears from letters which Mr. Bradhurst received, dated the 21st of that month:

"*Jefferson, July 21: 1851.*

"*J. M. Bradhurst, Esquire.*

"DEAR SIR,

"The 15th of the present month, as you will probably remember, was the day selected to prove the Will and codicil of the late Doctor Watkins. From what we could learn, we did not anticipate any opposition to the probate; but we were mistaken. Doctor Alexander Hoff, of Livingston County, who is the husband of one of the daughters of John Van Rensselaer, appeared to contest the Will and codicil with Mr. Driven, of Elmira, his Counsel. The Counsel gave notice that he appeared for the whole Van Rensselaer family, and named them in detail from the oldest down to the youngest. From what I could learn of their intentions, they do not expect to break down the Will, which was executed on the 10th of October 1840, but that they will direct their attack mainly on the codicil, which was made on the 8th day of April, 1848, and seek to destroy that on the ground that the testator,

[1] Lydia Watkins (Mrs. Tuttle) was a niece of Samuel Watkins, of Watkins Glen, of the firm of Bradhurst & Watkins, and daughter (by Susan Marshall) of Charles Watkins, and granddaughter of John Watkins by Lydia, daughter of Richard Stillwell and Mercy Sands.

at the time of making it was of unsound mind and memory, and therefore incapable in law to make a Will.

"We proceeded with the investigation on the 15th, and examined the subsenting witnesses to the Will, and Judge Dana, of Ithaca, who drew it; also the witnesses to the codicil. We proved clearly by these witnesses that all the forms of law had been complied with in the execution of both the Will and the codicil, and that the testator *was* of *sound mind and memory* on both occasions. Thus far the Will and codicil stand fully and clearly proved. The proceeding, at the request of the contestants, was then adjourned to the 4th of August next, to be then held at the Jefferson House in this place; at which time and place it will be the privilege of Doctor Hoff and Co. to cross examine our witnesses, and to introduce such testimony as they shall see fit for the purpose of proving the testator's incapacity. The witnesses to the codicil, as I have said, all swear that the testator *was of sound mind and memory* when he executed it; and the contestants cannot find, in this place, a respectable man or woman who will testify to the contrary. . . . . The only transaction of the testator of which the Counsel (Mr. Driven) spoke as evincing incapacity, was the sale of the Harlaem Estate. I was told that the Counsel had been there, *on the ground*, recently, and had received information on the subject. It is pretended that the testator sold it for a small sum comparatively, and infinitely below its actual value; that since then a small piece of it has been sold for 60 or 70 thousand Dollars; and that the whole together is now worth *half a million of Dollars!!* I think I know very well how absurd all this is. I infer the Counsel has fallen into the hands of some of these *speculators*—Hams and Co.—of whom you spoke to me when I saw you in the forepart of June last, . . . and that Mr. Driven has been imposed on by their insane statements. But you know all about this transaction; and, if opposition to the Will and codicil is persisted in, it may become necessary for us to have you as a witness to place the matter in its true light.

"If I am rightly informed you have some letters of the testator in your possession, written to you since 1839, and down to a late period. If you have preserved these they will be good evidence, I think, on the point of testable capacity; and if you will consent to let them go out of your possession, Mrs. Watkins will esteem it a favor, and be much obliged to you, if you will enclose them to me or to her, by mail, so that counsel can examine them, and use them or not as shall be deemed advisable. I pledge myself to see them safely returned, after being used as evidence, if we shall see fit to use them. Should you have any other documents bearing on the point, please send them also. We do not of course expect that you will send any letter or paper that you may deem of value to yourself to keep. . . . I regard the opposition to the Will and codicil as a mere farce; so all men of sense here regard it so far as I have heard; and it will turn out in the end, I think, a mere

farce. But it is due to the memory of Doctor Watkins, nevertheless, that we should vindicate him *fully, thoroughly, and* absolutely from the charges of imbecility, folly, and mental aberration which some of his *relatives* . . . make against him. To this end it *may* be necessary to have you and Messrs. M^cCoun, Clark, and others as witnesses. If so, we will subpœna you in due time, or give you notice, though it will be with great reluctance that we will cause you so much trouble.

"You intimated to Mrs. Watkins that you intended to make a visit here before long to see your friends and look after your farms and village property in this section. If you could make that visit, without too much inconvenience, so as to be here on the 4th of August, Mrs. Watkins requests me to say that she would be very happy indeed to see and entertain you and Mrs. Bradhurst as long as you should choose to remain here. You could then *see and face* the New Yorkers and Albanians that Doctor Hoff may bring here.

"Mrs. Watkins requests me to say that any advice or counsel that you may see fit to give her in the matter of this foolish and ill-advised Van Rensselaer opposition to the probate of the Doctor's Will and codicil, will be gratefully received; and she wishes to be kindly remembered to you and Mrs. Bradhurst and your family.

"Respectfully your obedient servant,

"GEORGE G. FREER.

"P.S. I do not see what the heirs are to gain should they succeed in impeaching the codicil. The codicil only revokes the provisions of the Will relating to the female colleges, and gives the lands appropriated to such colleges by the Will, *which remain unsold,* to testator's wife. Now all such lands *are sold,* except a part of the marsh lands here, which I do not esteem of much value, the whole being a morass. Neither the Van Rensselaer's, nor their Counsel, I imagine, understand this matter. They suppose—so Mr. Driven told me—that if they can break down the codicil, the provisions of the Will respecting the female Colleges is void, and that the heirs at law will take the lands. A more absurd view, in my opinion, never entered the mind of a lawyer. But under this delusion—the codicil being out of the way—they expect, perhaps, to break down the sale of the Harlaem and other real estate,[1]

[1] This mention of the "sale of the Harlaem and other real estate" doubtless included the property which Dr. Watkins sold to Mr. Bradhurst, and probably also the property which he gave him by deed of gift. Mr. Freer's suggestion appears to have been that if the codicil could be upset, the Will itself would be upset, and then, as a consequence, the sales and gifts of land made by Dr. Watkins would be rendered void, on the ground of his mental incapacity. In that event Mr. Bradhurst would have to give up not only the lands which had been given him by his deceased cousin and Mrs. Watkins, but also those which he had purchased adjoining Pinehurst, and

on the ground of the testator's legal incompetency to convey and fill their pockets with the present *Harrisonian supposed* value![1] Ridiculous as I know this view must be in your estimation, and as it certainly is in mine, and, I think, must be in the judgment of every sane person tolerably acquainted with the facts, yet, from what I heard the Counsel, Mr. Driven, let fall—hinting darkly—I think the Van Rensselaers are laboring, like majors, under the hallucination.

"Excuse the length of this postscript—four times as long as I intended to have it.

G. G. FREER."

Mr. Bradhurst also received a letter of the same date from Mr. Tuttle, in which the latter expresses his disapproval of the course adopted by those who wished to dispute the Will, and he adds that he and his wife declined "to enter into so revolting an inquiry." Indeed the attempt to cast aspersions on the mental capacity of Samuel Watkins by some of his relatives, appears to have roused the indignation of others, who, knowing him intimately, and corresponding with him to the last, held his memory in affectionate reverence. Nor was their indignation attributable to any personal or interested motive, since they did not inherit under the Will. On the contrary, they would have benefitted by it being upset, for, by its terms, Mrs. Watkins, the widow, was the chief beneficiary. Nor was it out of love of her that some of her husband's family upheld the Will, for that she was not altogether a favourite is shown by certain references to her which appear in the very letters which express the intention of the writers to give evidence in her favour. Those, therefore, who supported the Will were actuated only by the purest and most disinterested of motives, by their knowledge of truth, by the love and respect which they had borne Samuel Watkins, and by their repugnance to a course of action which involved any reflections being cast upon the memory of their deceased relative.

Mrs. Watkins' portion, as widow, would be greatly reduced, while the Van Rensselaer family would greatly benefit, as heirs at law. Mr. Bradhurst was thus placed in opposition to his Van Rensselaer cousins in this matter, and his testimony would be of value, since he had been in correspondence with Dr. Watkins until within a few weeks of the latter's decease.

[1] This is a reference to a firm of speculators, who, at that date, greatly exaggerated the value of these lands for their own purposes.

SAMUEL WATKINS' HEIRS

Showing the relationship of those who supported and those who contested the Will of Samuel Watkins, of Watkins Glen (who died 10th May, 1851, aged 83), drawn by Judge Dana, dated 8th October, 1840, and witnessed by William M. Himrod and M. Cass, with a Codicil dated 8th April, 1848, and witnessed by the Rev. S. B. Shearer, William Haring, and Orlando Hurd.

Richard STILLWELL = Mercy SANDS

Deborah Stillwell = Captain Richard Smith
(*Second daughter*)

Lydia Stillwell = John Watkins
(*Sixth daughter*)

Two sons

Two daughters

Mary Smith
married
Samuel Bradhurst,
of Pinehurst.
Was Samuel Watkins' partner in the firm of Bradhurst & Watkins

Charles Watkins
married
Susan Marshall

Samuel Watkins
Was Samuel Bradhurst's partner in Bradhurst & Watkins; was owner of "Jefferson" (afterwards "Watkins") village. He gave and sold property to J. M. Bradhurst, son of his cousin and partner. His Will was the subject of litigation. He bequeathed most of his estate to his widow, *née* Cynthia Anne Cass, who subsequently married her "legal adviser," George G. Freer

J. M. Watkins
married
Judith Livingston

Two other daughters

Elizabeth
married
—. Dunkin

John Maunsell Bradhurst,
of Pinehurst,
who received a gift of land from his cousins, Samuel and Cynthia Watkins, and also purchased property from them, near his own estate at Harlaem

Two daughters

Lydia Watkins
married
Daniel Tuttle
They gave evidence in support of the Will of her uncle

Four other children

Lydia Watkins
(Mrs. Beebe),
who gave evidence against the Will of her uncle. She was present throughout the trial in court

Three other children

Anne Dunkin
whose widower (she having died before the trial), Judge John S. Van Rensselaer, was a witness opposed to her uncle's Will

Mrs. Hoff,
whose husband contested the Will of her great-uncle

Maunsell Van Rensselaer

Other children

To Mr. Freer's letter Mr. Bradhurst replied on 24th July:

"Not having had immediate communication with the city, your letter of the 21st inst. did not reach me till late in the day—too late for a reply by mail. I think it strange indeed that an attempt should be made to set aside the Doctor's Will, or any portion of it, on the grounds assumed—namely, '*incompetency*,' or the '*sacrifice*' of his property here. Should my testimony be considered important, I will, if a subpœna be served, allow no consideration to interfere with my attendance. Herewith you will receive all the letters received from the Doctor, since April 23rd, 1843, save one in 1848 which I took from the file to show Mrs. Bradhurst and Mr. Field as an evidence of the firmness of his hand and mind. . . .[1] Please to return the above letters as soon as they shall have served their purpose. Present our compliments to Mrs. Watkins."

The letters which Mr. Bradhurst received from the relatives and lawyers interested in the case were numerous; but it would be tedious to quote them all, although several contain family references of some interest as showing the various groups into which certain cousins were divided by this dispute.

The Will case lasted for some time, the examination of witnesses occupying six days. The evidence of those who appeared to prove the mental aberration of Samuel Watkins was so weak that it tended rather to strengthen the defence. The witnesses for the defence, on the other hand—none of whom had known the testator for less than fifteen years—gave their evidence clearly and unshaken in cross-examination, and included such well-known persons as Judge Dana, and the Hon. Charles Cook, one of the Canal Commissioners, and a friend of Samuel Watkins of thirty years standing. The letters to John Maunsell Bradhurst were read, and sufficiently showed the writer's mental ability as well as his wishes and intentions; and so plain was the matter that the Judge intimated that no further witnesses need be called, and Mr. Bradhurst was thus spared the trouble of going to "Jefferson" to give evidence.

On the 20th October Mr. Freer wrote to tell Mr. Bradhurst the result of the trial, in a long letter, in which the legal proceedings are

[1] Here follows a list, with dates, of the twenty-seven letters from Samuel Watkins to his cousin, John Maunsell Bradhurst, which the latter enclosed to Mr. Freer.

interspersed with details of family feuds, which are somewhat humourously described by the lawyer in his own quaint phraseology. He announces the decision of the Judge before whom the case was tried, which was entirely in favour of the Will and codicil, and which ordered the contestants to pay the whole of the costs of litigation.

Four months passed, and then—within a year of Samuel Watkins' death—Mr. Freer wrote to announce his marriage to Mrs. Watkins, which took place at "Jefferson" on 11th February, 1852. The newly-married couple (who by the way were first cousins) were evidently anxious lest their marriage should be displeasing to her first husband's family, for the bridegroom wrote:

"In the propriety of this step on her part Mrs. Freer[1] hopes to receive your and Mrs. Bradhurst's concurrence, and trusts that it will, at least, give no pain to any of the sincere friends of the late Doctor Watkins. We are now on our way to Havana, Island of Cuba. We are in haste to get there during cold weather. On our return we hope to have the pleasure of seeing you and your family, to whom meantime we desire to be kindly remembered. The letters of Doctor Watkins to you are not yet recovered. I have not forgotten my promise, and will see them all safely returned.

"Respectfully yours,
"GEORGE G. FREER.

"P.S. On the 12th instant I had a petition presented to the legislature to have the name of the village of '*Jefferson*' changed to '*Watkins*.' The petition will probably be granted. We made all the interest we could for it at Albany. This change will only be a just tribute of respect to the memory of Doctor Watkins. The name he so much honoured during his long and well-spent life, deserves to be thus perpetuated."

This letter was a master stroke of diplomacy, for the "tribute of respect to the memory of Doctor Watkins," contained in the post-script, was so gratifying to some, if not all of his relatives as to outweigh any prejudice they might have against the second marriage of his widow. As to this, however, Mr. Bradhurst had always entertained

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[1] Miss Cynthia Anne Cass married firstly, Samuel Watkins, and secondly, George G. Freer, her cousin.

a high opinion of Mr. Freer, and had written the previous year to Mrs. Watkins to that effect.

About this time John Maunsell Bradhurst became seriously ill, and, in replying to Mr. Freer, he spoke somewhat sadly of himself and Mrs. Bradhurst as being in the "sear and yellow leaf of human existence." He congratulated his cousin's widow and her lawyer on their marriage—an event which afforded some amusement to her relatives, since Mr. Freer had been so long known to them as her "legal adviser."

Some time later Mr. Freer again wrote, on behalf of his wife, most cordially and hospitably pressing Mr. and Mrs. Bradhurst to visit them; and it is interesting to note that the writer's petition as to the name of the village had by then been granted, since this invitation is dated from "*Watkins* (*late Jefferson*)":

"In talking over the matter of your recent attack of illness with Mrs. Freer and Mrs. Tuttle, we have thought a small change of air and scenery might be of some service to you, and not disadvantageous, at least, to Mrs. Bradhurst. With this view—as well as the pleasure it would give us—we cordially invite you both to make us a visit, and remain here and rusticate as long as you shall see fit. Though you will be here, necessarily, deprived of many of your accustomed conveniences and luxuries, yet you may enjoy an alteration of air and scenery &cc, and as much quiet as you choose. If most agreeable you can bring your own servants with you."

Nothing, indeed, could have exceeded the cordiality of this invitation. Thus Mrs. Freer, "of Watkins," continued her friendship with the Bradhursts, and strove in other ways to conciliate the various members of her first husband's family, and to forget the painful circumstances connected with the contested Will. She did not long survive her second marriage; and, on her death, without issue, many interesting documents and letters, which her first husband, Samuel Watkins, had inherited—concerning his uncle, General Maunsell—passed into the possession of her second husband (and cousin), Mr. Freer, who died 17th April, 1878, having married, as his second wife, Miss Elizabeth Hoare, of Canterbury, Kent, England, by whom he was the father of the present Mr. George G. Freer, of New York, to whose courtesy we are indebted for many copies of commissions and papers referred to in those chapters which treat of General Maunsell.

CHAPTER VIII

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST'S LETTERS

"THOROUGH" was the watchword of John Maunsell Bradhurst in whatever he undertook, publicly or privately. He was a man of extreme neatness and precision, sparing himself no trouble in his care and attention to details. It was this characteristic of his which gained for his "Regulars" so high a reputation for their efficiency; and which, later, rendered him successful in business; and, finally, in his last years, capable and prudent as the owner of a large estate in the vicinity of a rapidly extending city. His thoroughness in all things won for him not only the praise of military authorities in his youth, and the esteem of business men afterwards, but also the respect of those with whom he came in contact whenever he interested himself in the political, and other public questions of the moment. At his death his documents, letters, and papers, numbering some thousands and referring to widely diverse matters, were all in their proper place; carefully arranged in neat packets, docketed and dated in his own hand. Every packet bore some words of explanation with the dates, or amounts, referred to in the papers which it contained. His account books and estate ledgers were patterns of neatness, and his principal Letter Book was carefully revised, corrected, and initialed by himself. His letters were frequently copied into this book by his second son, William, and occasionally by his grandson, Maunsell,[1] but generally by his youngest son, Henry, and a few by his favourite granddaughter, Fanny.

This Letter Book, which extends over a period of eight years—from 1847 to 1855, the last years of his life—contains copies of all his principal correspondence during that time. In his business letters to

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[1] Maunsell Bradhurst—named John Maunsell after his grandfather—was the eldest son of Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst.

his brother-in-law, Mr. Tracy[1]—referring to some western investments—he frequently mentions various relatives; and from these communications it is clear that he took more than a casual interest in the welfare and prosperity, of all those who were related to him. His messages to the older ones were full of affection and kindliness, and to the younger ones he often sent more than good advice. He often spoke in these letters, of his wife's sisters and their families,[2] and particularly of her Tracy nephews—especially of Edward, the eldest, in whom he evinced great interest. In 1847 he wrote: "It will be to be regretted if Edward does not apply his leisure moments to the study of law; it will be of great importance to him in after life," and "your letter is elegantly copied, and it will afford me great pleasure to be informed that it is the writing of my young friend, Theodore." In another letter: "Edward writes uncomonly well. I shall be pleased to have your next in the handwriting of Theodore." And, "I am much pleased with the plain and easy writing of my young friend, Theodore. I hope that he will persevere with great assiduity in the study of the profession."

In all the many business letters which Mr. Broadhurst wrote to Mr. Tracy, he almost invariably sent some such kindly message to his nephews, and constantly inquired affectionately after the niece who eventually became his daughter-in-law, or alluded to the pleasure which Mrs. Tracy's visits to Pinehurst afforded him.

On the 20th March, 1854, he wrote, "I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Tracy last Thursday at the wedding of our granddaughter Fanny.[3] She was well, and as usual in good spirits." And in the same letter he says: "We congratulate you on the safe arrival of Elizabeth. This relieves us of great anxiety." The latter sentence refers to the arrival of Mr. Tracy's daughter—then Mrs. Noyes—in

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[1] Mr. Felix Tracy had married Henrietta Wilmerding, a sister of Mrs. J. M. Bradhurst. His daughter Elizabeth, eventually married Henry, youngest son of J. M. Bradhurst.

[2] Mrs. Bradhurst's sisters were Mrs. Felix Tracy, Mrs. John Currie, Mrs. William Cecil Dwight, and Mrs. Horatio Jones.

[3] This was the wedding of Frances Pearsall Bradhurst, daughter of Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst, with M. A. Field.

California, whither she had gone by sea from New York to join her husband, with her two little girls, Henrietta (afterwards Mrs. Talbot) and Margaret (afterwards Mrs. Mounsey). After this, John Maunsell Bradhurst continually wrote making some such inquiry as, "How are the Californians? We are always happy to hear from them;" or, "We are very anxious to hear of Elizabeth and all the others in California."

His correspondence includes many names well-known in New York in the "early fifties," among them John Jay, W. E. Wilmerding, Horatio Jones, A. T. Stewart, William Dwight, H. M. Schieffelin, and Mrs. E. Crosby.[1] One of his most valued friends was Mr. William McCoun, to whom he wrote, in 1853: "Your letter caused me great pleasure, not so much on account of its business relations as, on account of its reviving former associations. It almost brought me to the resolution of paying you and your much esteemed father a visit in the course of next summer; although circumstances seem to forbid it, yet the thought gratifies me." Then, after some business references, he continues, "With respect to all other matters in your hands, you will please me by taking such measures as you think best. Present to your father my very best wishes, and accept for yourself and your family my affectionate regard."

Mr. Bradhurst's later letters contain many allusions to his failing sight, his age—he was past seventy—and his anxiety to "set his house in order" for the end which he seemed to feel was drawing near.

The last five years of his life were embittered by the careless extravagance of some of his family; for few men have ever had so great a horror and detestation of debt. To him it was a crime inconsistent with any sentiments of honour—a weakness for which he had no sympathy and but little forgiveness. The knowledge that some of his family having contracted a burden of debt, still continued to lead a luxurious mode of life, aroused in him a stern inflexibility, and a degree of anger which he had rarely, if ever, before displayed. In time his wrath was modified, but his bitterness—the bitterness of dishonour to a man of such sensitive honour—endured to the last.

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[1] This was *not* Mrs. Ernest Crosby the daughter of H. M. Schieffelin.

ELIZABETH, PRINCESS BRANCACCIO

From a Miniature

He, who been so indulgent a father, became a very Spartan in this matter.

It was natural that one who had shown such kindly interest in the welfare of his numerous nephews and nieces, should give much attention to the education and future prosperity of his own grandchildren. When his vision had become imperfect and his writing had lost its firmness, he still wrote to his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst, making suggestions for the good and happiness of her family. Their visits to Pinehurst gave him pleasure : "the children," he says in one letter, "arrived last evening in good health and spirits." He took an especial pride in his eldest grandson and namesake—John Maunsell—and he also mentions the latter's younger brother, "Master Charles;" but his interest in his grandsons was as nothing compared with his devotion to two, at least, of his granddaughters, "Fanny" and "Bessie." These were clearly his favourites. The former—afterwards Mrs. M. A. Field—was the eldest daughter of his son, Samuel, and lived with her grandparents at Pinehurst, being so to speak the daughter of the house after the marriage of her aunt, Mrs. Hickson Field. "Bessie," the other favourite—afterwards the Princess Brancaccio—was Mrs. Hickson Field's daughter. Of the latter Mr. Bradhurst wrote to her other grandfather, Mr. Hickson Field, senior : "Bessie is with us—going to school—she brings home daily marks of approbation for punctuality, reading, writing, &c. Her writing book exhibits the greatest care, without blot or blemish, and her mistress, an accomplished lady, says that it must be kept to show her *grand*-children!" He was no less proud of the musical accomplishments of his other favourite, and of the admiration which that young lady commanded; and when the household at Pinehurst were surprised by the unwonted strains of music without, in the country stillness, the old grandparents could easily divine for whom the serenade was intended in old-fashioned wooing.

Mr. Bradhurst, it was well-known, was always strongly averse to any allusion to his birth and family which might savour of vulgar boastfulness, but that he was proud of the name which he had received from his distinguished great-uncle, General Maunsell, appears from a letter written to a friend in England, in 1844, in which he observes that—some previous letter having been addressed to "John

Bradhurst"—he prefers to be addressed "John Maunsell Bradhurst," although, he adds, his usual signature was merely "J. M. Bradhurst." He also explains—"My residence is Pinehurst, Washington Heights, within the corporate jurisdiction of the City of New York—10th Avenue and 144th Street—about eight miles from the City Hall; but please direct your letters simply to New York." A letter addressed so briefly—"John Maunsell Bradhurst, New York City"—seems strange now, after a lapse of half-a-century! and the very strangeness of it but testifies to the rapid growth of that city, which has absorbed even the landmarks of Pinehurst.

Latterly Mr. Bradhurst's chief companion was his youngest son, of whom he wrote: "My son, Henry, has my entire confidence and is authorised to act for me in all business matters." His second son, William, was, for a young American at that period, a considerable traveller, and his letters from California, France, and Italy contain many interesting details. He contributed considerably to the beauties of the grounds and green-houses of Pinehurst by sending various rare plants from foreign countries. He finally returned home in the Spring of 1855, but his health was shattered, and he expired some months later—23rd November—in his forty-first year and unmarried, only having survived his father a few weeks.

In a letter to William Bradhurst, in 1853, his father said:

"I have written by this mail to Mr. Remington, thanking him for his kindness and attention to you. He will return in the Spring, and hopes to bring you with him. Write to me by the quickest route, as we are very desirous of hearing from you direct. Your Uncle William Wilmerding has just returned from his bridal tour to Charleston and Havanna—joyous and happy—having wedded Eleanore Lawrence, sister of his late wife.[1] My sight fails me from day to day, and warns me to close. The political aspect of our country is brightening and improving beyond belief; it outstrips even my conceptions—extravagant as you know them to have been!"

Mr. Bradhurst's political opinions may be gauged from the

[1] There being in the United States no prejudice, as in England, against marriage with a "deceased wife's sister," Mr. William Wilmerding—after whom his nephew, William Bradhurst was named—had married, as his third wife, a sister of his second wife.

following extracts from two of his letters. To Mr. Freer, of "Watkins," he wrote, in 1852: "General Cass, the well-tried patriot—the accomplished scholar and the statesman whose opinions stand the rigid scrutiny of reason and of time—good to-day, tomorrow, and for ever—was, you truly say, my first choice; and Franklin Pierce, who aspires to the mantle of Jackson, Polk, and Cass is, beyond all doubt, my second; he stands in the ranks of many of the most accomplished and well-tried statesmen and patriots of our Country." To Mr. Clement Remington, in 1853, he wrote: "I rejoice with you in the defeat of the Derby administration, and the success of Free Trade principles; these alone can give employment for the abounding and increasing supply of Gold, by stimulating Commerce—the great and only civiliser of the world—and produce *the Millennium!* the contemplation of which used to employ so many of our happy and leisure hours. (If my eyesight continues to fall off, I fear I may not *see* it! tho' I will comfort myself with its anticipation)."

Mr. Remington was one of John Maunsell Broadhurst's most intimate friends; he had married the latter's niece, Miss Julia Schieffelin, and his daughters were great favourities with their great-uncle.[1] "I am glad," Mr. Bradhurst wrote, "that your children are doing well. Give our love to them, and ask them if they remember their Uncle and Aunt Bradhurst?"

In the Letter Book, previously referred to, many of Mr. Bradhurst's letters were copied by his young grandson, Maunsell, and although the writing is particulary neat, the school-boy's spelling is sometimes quaint, but the errors were carefully corrected by the grandfather. On one occasion young John Maunsell, having been trusted with the despatch of a letter to England, placed it in a school book, and boy-like forgot it. His grandfather found it there two months later, and thereupon made him not only re-write the letter, but explain that his own forgetfulness had caused the delay.

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[1] Mr. Remington's daughters are Mrs. O. E. Winslow (formerly Mrs. Chamberlain), and Mrs. Christopher Robert (formerly Mrs. Morgan).

CHAPTER IX

POOR IMMIGRANTS

With his friends in England Mr. Bradhurst exchanged long letters in which they mutually criticised the weaknesses of each other's Governments, with equal candour and good humour; and, in reply to some inquiries as to the condition of the slaves in the Southern States, he maintained that they were not so uncared for, and neglected as the destitute immigrants who came by thousands from "Merry England." These poor people, arriving in New York at an average of a thousand per day, were, he said, "in a truly deplorable condition, notwithstanding the great exertions of the Commissioners of Immigration in providing relief for them at the several extensive Hospitals and Alms Houses. Their suffering defies description. Both public and private charities are given to the most destitute and friendless, to those suffering from the severities of our winter, and to those dying from ship-fever and other aggravated causes. So it is, and has been for years, and yet they come. What becomes of them is a mystery: the Country is large. I wonder how a Government can reduce its labouring population so very low, and then cast them off!" He adds that the "negroes in the South, for whom so much sympathy is felt, and for whom our Union has been imperilled, are immeasurably better cared for, better clothed, and better fed."[1]

He took a keen interest in the crowds of destitute immigrants, who came under the delusion that they were bound for an El Dorado, and that having reached America their fortunes were assured. Their hopelessness and bitter disappointment, their helplessness and utter destitution, appealed continually to his pity and generosity. Whenever he could do so, he gave them employment, and many others he helped

[1] These sentiments are particularly interesting as having been written many years ago before the War of Secession.

to earn a livelihood. There are numerous evidences of these unostentatious acts of benevolence, and of the patience with which he listened to their complaints, never sparing himself any trouble to alleviate their sufferings. Even the ingratitude which he sometimes experienced—as in the case of one undeserving immigrant, whom he declared, in a letter to the vicar of her parish in England, to be a very "devil in petticoats"—did not deter him from continuing his charity.

To him, too, many a young man, of a better class, coming to the New World to seek his fortune, owed his first employment; and, as a result of this, anxious parents, and persons of whom Mr. Bradhurst had never heard, wrote to him from various parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, asking him to advise and befriend some relative about to embark for New York. His replies, always courteous and kindly, invariably urged those who were unwilling or unfitted to face the trials and difficulties of hardship to remain at home; and he would quote, as a warning, some instance of disappointment and failure. To those, however, who, thus forewarned, ventured forth across the ocean, he gave every necessary information and assistance ungrudgingly—regardless of time and trouble—and thus many a stepping-stone to prosperity was due to his influence and goodness.

The servants and others whom he employed at Pinehurst, were nearly all imported from Ireland; for, having once entered his service, they were always ready to recommend their kinsfolk in the Emerald Isle for any vacancy which might occur. George Canavan, the old coachman of forty years, and James Heuston, on whom the gardens and glass-houses reflected such credit, were almost as well-known about Washington Heights as their master.

Whatever may be said about the Irishman at home, those who found their way to Mr. Bradhurst's protection certainly grew thrifty. There are, among his letters, many evidences of the savings which they remitted to their "old folk" across the Atlantic, Mr. Bradhurst himself acting as their agent, and, in the case of the illiterate, as their secretary also. That he would write their letters for them, shows his good nature; that he always made one of his sons witness any receipt given in such cases, points to his business-like habits.

There was, near Pinehurst, a small colony of these Irish—a "settlement"—consisting of a number of poor dwellings inhabited by

humble immigrants, in whose poverty and need Mr. Bradhurst interested himself, constantly seeking to give, or find them some suitable employment. When this little group of striving settlers had been established there some time, it was deemed advisable to run a railway in the vicinity; and, for various reasons, it was decided that the new line should pass through the midst of these Irish habitations. The poor inhabitants heard the announcement of the consequent destruction of their settlement with amazed incredulity; but when they saw the line being laid, and the work gradually and threateningly approaching their homes, they rose in fury, and arming themselves as best they could, they rushed to the spot and began tearing up the rails and destroying the beginnings of this aggressive railroad. The local authorities were helpless in the face of this infuriated mob. There was no one who could stop them, none to whom they would listen—none save one, and he was John Maunsell Broadhurst. He came to the scene—and they paused, and listened; he was their benefactor, the friend who had ever dealt fairly and kindly by them, and in him they trusted; to him they confided their grievance, and felt sure that he would advise them for their good—impartially and justly. They—ignorant, despised, poverty-stricken—knew their man; and he knew them, nearly every one of them—for their were few in all that angry crowd that did not owe their means of living to his help, or had not received his bounty, or poured their woes into his patient ear—and he sympathised with their revolt against this arbitrary ruin of their homes.

In a few plain words he bade them cease their work of destruction; he told them that he would protest to the proper authorities against the completion of this railway line; that he would use all his influence to prevent its continuation through their settlement; and that if he failed, he, himself, would arm and lead them to oppose it. They trusted him, and returned to the miserable dwellings which to them signified "home." His representations were, in due course, listened to with the result that the remains of that unfinished railway line were still to be seen for many years afterwards.[1]

[1] He employed Horace Clark, as Counsel, at his own expense, on behalf of these poor Irish in opposition to the Railway Company.

Always opposed to whatever savoured of injustice and oppression, his act of championship was long and gratefully remembered by these poor people. The esteem in which he was held by men of his own class was only equalled by his popularity among those in a humbler sphere; and, at the present day—full half a century since his death, and when the very site of Pinehurst is so transfigured that he would hardly find its traces among the new avenues and streets—there are aged persons who still recall his many kindnesses, and hold his memory in reverence.

CHAPTER X

JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST'S LAST YEARS

"TIME," wrote Mr. Barrett some years ago, in *The Old Merchants of New York*, "makes rapid changes. Fifty years ago, on the heights beyond Manhattanville, were situated the country seats of many families now unknown in that region. The Lawrences and the Newbolds, the Bradhursts, the Schieffelins, and the Watkinses, and others of whom I have written, had places there. Near where the Tenth Avenue now crosses the Bloomingdale Road, Hamilton lived when he was shot by Burr. Not much further on, is the residence of the widow of that successful New York merchant, Stephen Jumel, better known for her connection in his declining years with Aaron Burr.[1] Nearly all these old places have been vacated by their former owners. One, the old Maunsell house, still stands, and has not yet been given over to different associations, although some five or six generations have passed to their long home through its portals. It was formerly the residence of the British General Maunsell, and has entertained under its roof many of the celebrities of Colonial and revolutionary times. If I remember rightly, a full length portrait of the old General, in his scarlet uniform, still hangs on its walls, a relic of a past era. It must be well-nigh a century ago when within it, with good old-fashioned hospitality, Samuel Bradhurst married, the pride and hope of the house.[2]

"In this way the property extending from river to river, now immensely valuable, became the gold mine of the Bradhursts."

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[1] For General Hamilton, Aaron Burr and "Madam" Jumel refer to the Chapter entitled *The Duel*.

[2] Mr. Barrett has made the not uncommon error of confusing the old house in which Mrs. Maunsell spent her last years, known as "The Maunsell House," (at the south-west corner of St. Nicholas Avenue and *157th Street*), with the home of the Bradhursts, called "Pinehurst," and frequently spoken of as "The Maunsell Property," and "The Maunsell Place," because it was the property of General Maunsell for many years previous to 1770. The latter mansion (also known as "The Bradhurst Mansion") stood in *148th Street*, between the St. Nicholas and Tenth Avenues.

THE DEER (*Cervus Macrotis*)

Presented by John Maunsell Bradhurst to John James Audubon, the celebrated naturalist, by whom it was painted at Pinehurst, with a portrait of the artist in the background

(*Quadrupeds of North America*, Vol. II.)

John Maunsell Bradhurst passed his last days almost entirely at his old Colonial mansion, which stood over-looking the Hudson, surrounded by gardens and lawns famed for their beauty. His town house in New York City was at 366, Broadway. Among the friends of his later years were Alexander Vaché—an active politician, and one of the original "Loco-Focos" of 1835—James W. Beekman, the distinguished nephew of that James Beekman who married Mr. Bradhurst's cousin, Lydia Watkins;[1] and lastly, but by no means least, we may add to these the name of Valentine Mott—"the most eminent surgeon this country has yet produced"[2]—after whom the Mott Memorial Hall, in Madison Avenue, was named, one of whose grandsons, the late Edward Bell, of New York, married Helen Wilmerding, a niece of Mrs. John Maunsell Bradhurst.[3]

Another intimate friend of Mr. Bradhurst—and a neighbour of his near Pinehurst—was John James Audubon, the celebrated naturalist, whose pictures of birds and animals—especially the former —are so famous.[4] He was a frequent visitor at Pinehurst; and having once expressed his admiration and envy of a fine specimen of the Black-Tailed Deer—*Cervus Macrotis*—belonging to Mr. Bradhurst, the latter, who was deeply interested in the great naturalist's work, presented him with the animal, which accordingly Audubon shot, and, having propped it up to his satisfaction, painted it with a peep of the surrounding scenery. It is now depicted among his *Quadrupeds of North America*. In this picture he, moreover, painted himself in the background in the act of shooting it; but, sacrificing his sense as an artist to his desire as a naturalist, to show the animal to the best advantage, he has portrayed himself, in the background, so far to the *right* of the deer, that without knowing the story of its being propped up at Pinehurst, a casual observer might wonder how it came to be wounded in the *left* side.

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[1] Lydia Watkins' first husband was Captain Drew. She was a sister of Samuel Watkins, of Watkins Glen, and niece of Mrs. Maunsell.

[2] James Grant Wilson's History of New York City.

[3] In reference to this marriage see "Wilmerding."

[4] Although the works of Audubon are, perhaps, not so widely known in Europe as in America, it is noteworthy that even in London, within recent years, three volumes of them realised £60 *each*.

Fortunately his mind was not affected until after the fulfilment of his life's desire—the completion of this great work—and then the failing light gave way so suddenly as nearly to stain his memory with the crime of a madman. It was one day, when calling at Pinehurst, that not finding Mr. Bradhurst at home, he turned his steps towards the garden, and there perceiving his friend's youngest son, Henry, his latent madness took possession of him; rushing at the youth with a drawn knife and shouting wildly, he was seized and overpowered by some gardeners and men at work near by.

Mr. Bradhurst, as previously stated, was always disinclined to accept any public office, although frequently urged to do so both privately by his personal friends, and publicly by official deputations. In 1848 his old cousin Samuel Watkins wrote to him:

"I hope you will not withhold your services in serving in Congress; the most influential men in Congress are the most honest and faithful to their duties. Your services there, in whatever you were engaged, would be such that it would not be possible to appreciate their value."

On one occasion a large and influential deputation waited on him at Pinehurst, and begged him to accept the Mayorality of the City; but he stedfastly declined the honour, and, when pressed, his reply although not flattering, was at least plain and honest. He declared that he would not serve, employ, or be associated with those whose principles he did not approve. Like his father, he placed his high sense of honour above all other considerations.

There are various stories of attempted burglaries at Pinehurst during his absence. One night, hearing a noise, his sons who were at home, rushed downstairs, but the thieves decamped, jumping from a window, and drove off in a cart which awaited them, leaving all the things they had intended taking ready for removal. These did not merely include small and light valuables, but many heavier articles, probably because they thought that there was no man in the house. Among these things were some pieces of furniture, which were found to have been quickly put together, and these included the old clock of which it is said—"The antique clock at Bradhurst's gave Locke, the author of the now famous hoax, the cue for a story that was

copied all over the world. It was called '*Here She Goes! There She Goes!*' a reference to the movement of the pendulum." [1]

Another anecdote is that of the burglar who stole a valuable carpet from Pinehurst, which Mr. Bradhurst recognised in a street in New York the following day, whereupon he insisted on driving the man who had it, and drove the thief straight to the police.

In 1849 he made a Will containing the following clause:

"After the decease of my said wife, I give and devise in fee simple absolute unto my son, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, the house in which I now reside, together with all that part of my farm which lies eastwardly of the Tenth Avenue."

The executors named were his wife, Elizabeth (Wilmerding) Bradhurst; his son, Henry; his son-in-law, Hickson Field, Junior; John McKesson; and his brother-in-law, William Wilmerding. Two of them, Mr. Field and Mr. McKesson, were the stepsons of Mr. Bradhurst's sister Catherine, that lady having twice married widowers —John McKesson, Senior, and Hickson Field, Senior.

As this, however, was not his last Will, it would not be worth alluding to but for a somewhat strange coincidence in connection with it. Some thirty or forty years after Mr. Bradhurst's death, his great-grandson, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, Junior, when walking in a street of New York picked up an old document which had apparently been dropped by some passer by, and on examining it was surprised to find that it was this old Will—valueless in fact—of his great-grandfather!

But Mr. Bradhurst's last Will was of a later date. In January, 1855, he wrote to Mr. Horace F. Clark with reference to a new one, and, in the Letter Book, there appears a further communication, in April of the same year, suggesting some alterations as to the provisions made for his grandchildren.

The last letter in that book was copied by his son, Henry, in September, 1855, and he therein refers anxiously to his father's illness, who soon afterwards passed away.

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[1] This clock is now in the possession of Mr. Bradhurst's great-grandson, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, Junior, son of the late C. C. Bradhurst.

John Maunsell Bradhurst died at Pinehurst, aged seventy-three.

There was widespread sorrow at the loss of the kind heart which beat no more. Throughout his honourable and energetic life he had won the love and esteem of persons of all grades and parties.

His last words were typical of his large-mindedness. With his dying breath he expressed the hope that the British would take Sebastopol.

The news of its fall reached New York a few hours later.

That he, the commander of "Bradhurst's Regulars" in the war with England in 1812, should have expired with such a wish on his lips, tells its own tale. The old soldierly feelings had returned with a dying flicker. It showed the keen interest which he took in events of the day—such as the Crimean War—even to his last moment. It was no mean spirit which could so earnestly wish for the success of those against whom he had stood in arms.

An American above all things, and a true patriot in 1812-15, he possessed a soul so large and generous that he could die breathing a hope for the victory of England.

He was laid to rest among his kin in the old family vault in Trinity Cemetery, and his obsequies were attended by an immense concourse of people of every class and denomination, conspicuous among them being a great throng of grateful poor, who came to pay this last tribute to their protector and benefactor. Those who can remember bear in mind the touching and impressive scene as these poor people of their own accord quietly and reverently ranged themselves in groups of eight, in order that each and all might for a few yards have the privilege of bearing his earthly remains on their last journey, while his widow, proudly suppressing her emotion, stood on the steps of the old mansion watching the long cortege wind solemnly down the drive.

The year before his death he had obtained from his Van Rensselaer cousins a cession of their interest in the old Maunsell burial-ground. The courteous and cordial tone of their letters forms a happy termination to the opposite views which they had held in the Watkins Will case. It appears that the old vault containing the remains of various relatives, the Maunsells, the Bradhursts, Mrs. Beekman, and Mrs. Van Rensselaer, was out of repair, and Mr. Bradhurst suggested

that he and Mr. Van Rensselaer should build separate places of burial for their own families.[1] Mr. Van Rensselaer, however, anticipating the other's wishes, ceded his interest in the old vault, proposing only to remove the remains of his wife to the resting-place of his own ancestors at Albany.

"Your favour," he wrote, "of the 18th instant I have the pleasure duly to acknowledge. If the vault lot is abandoned for a place of burial, it will belong to the residuary devisees of Mrs. Lydia Beekman; viz: my children and the heirs of Samuel Watkins, of whom my children represent one third.[2]

"My son, Maunsell, and myself have concluded to remove the remains of Mrs. Van Rensselaer to our ground in the rural cemetery of Albany, which we are now preparing for use. It was Mrs. Dunkin's wish to repose with her kindred at Harlem.[2] If you will consent to place her remains with those of your kindred in the present vault (your new vault), we will pay you our share of the expenses, $250, and I will meet you at any time you designate to consummate the arrangement.

"Please present my kind regards to Mrs. Bradhurst and your family, and believe me truly, yours respectfully, JOHN S. VAN RENSSELAER."

Thus their correspondence was renewed, and they met again to grasp each other by the hand in their agreement on fitting places of repose for their mutual relatives.

Apart from the many sums which Mr. Bradhurst gave privately, his receipts show that he also subscribed largely to a great number of philanthropic institutions and charities.

His immense property included—beside the Pinehurst estate, which reached across the whole breadth of Manhattan Island from the Hudson to the East River—numerous houses, buildings, and sites in the City of New York, on Broadway, in Hamilton Spring Place, and in Franklin, Green, Houston, Broome, Wooster, Leonard, Norfolk, Orchard, Walnut, Cherry, and Pearl Streets; also some 220 acres in

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[1] The old family burial place was known as "the Cedar-Woods Vault."

[2] Mrs. Beekman and Mrs. Dunkin were sisters of Samuel Watkins, and cousins of Mr. Bradhurst. Mrs. Dunkin's only daughter had married Mr. Van Rensselaer. Mrs. Beekman had no children.

the town of Orange, Steuben County; 140 acres in the town of Dix, Chemung County; some farms near Watkins; about 20 acres in the town of Huntington; numerous western investments, and the Virginian estate of some 1,500 acres, which he derived from his father. But the last-mentioned was unfortunately lost, through Mr. Bradhurst's not having paid the taxes on it for some years; and when his son, Henry Maunsell, and the late Mr. McKesson, acting as his executors, made inquiries into the matter, and sought to establish the claim, they found that their efforts were in vain, and that, according to law, this estate had become the property of others. Mr. Bradhurst had congratulated himself on his escape from taxation on what he believed to be unprofitable land, not foreseeing its future improvement and confiscation.

It is to be regretted that no further details can be given of his great possessions, and that the material is not at hand to supply these pages with more of the anecdotes, noble deeds, and kind acts which are related of him.

In *The Old Merchants of New York* Mr. Barrett wrote:

"What a biography can be made of old John M. Bradhurst. I will do it some day."

Unfortunately, no such work has appeared, but it is to be hoped that some capable pen will one day do justice to the subject.

John Maunsell Bradhurst and Elizabeth Wilmerding, his wife—who survived him—had the following children:

SAMUEL, born 1807, died 29th April, 1814.[1]

SAMUEL STILLWELL, born 19th September, 1810.

WILLIAM WILMERDING, born 13th October, 1814, died 23rd November, 1855. He was a confirmed invalid at the time of his father's death, whom he only survived about one month.

HENRY MAUNSELL, of Pinehurst, born 13th May, 1822.

MARY ELIZABETH, born 1824; married Hickson W. Field, Esq., Junior, of Palazzo delle Sette Sale, Rome, and died 18th February, 1897. (Her daughter became the Princess Brancaccio.)

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[1] "Buried in the family vault of Mr. J. Clark, Senior, in Trinity Churchyard." —M.S. *Events and Ages of my Family.*

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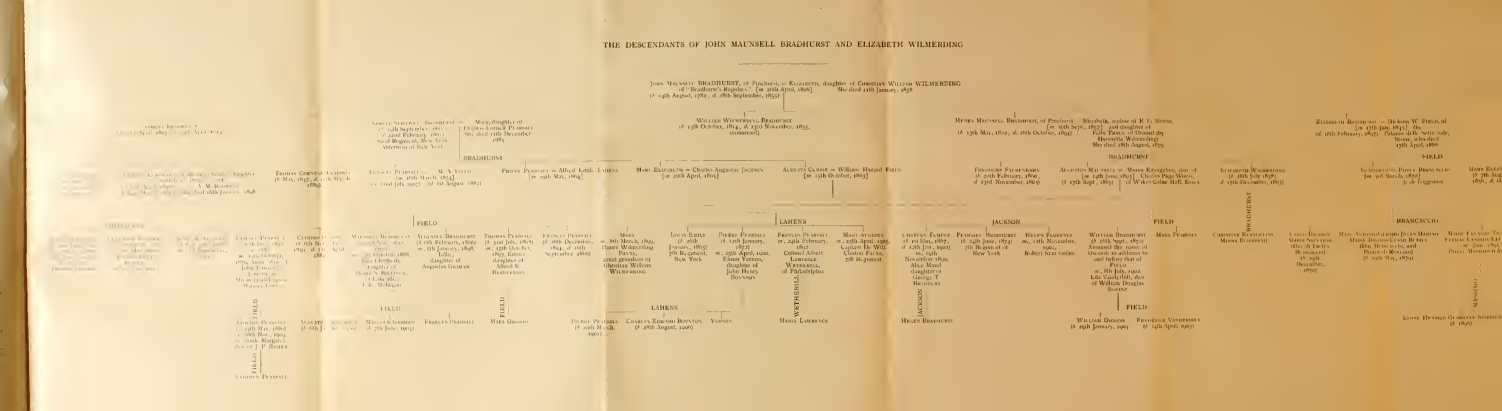
THE DESCENDANTS OF JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST AND ELIZABETH WILMERDING



The Wilmerding Family

THE WILMERDING MONUMENT,

Erected in 1700, on the outer wall of St. Martin's Church, Brunswick, by the three brothers, JOHN, WILLIAM, and HENRY

THE WILMERDING FAMILY

CHAPTER I

EARLY ANCESTORS

THE Wilmerding family was for several generations one of the most distinguished in the old Hansa town of Brunswick, in Germany; and, although the last Wilmerding of Brunswick died in 1848, the name is still held in high honour there, and is almost as well known to-day as it was a century ago. A street and several charitable institutions still bear the ancient name of the family which, for over two centuries, ranked among the foremost burghers of the town, taking a leading part in all the events which concerned it, and equally esteemed for its military services in defence of the old town, and for its high reputation in commerce.

During the period that Brunswick was one of the free cities of the Hansa League, the Wilmerdings rose in prosperity and attained great influence; and although not strictly of patrician origin, they were received, in later times, among the *personæ gratissimæ* at the Ducal Court, and intermarried with some of the oldest and most noble houses in the Duchy.

The quaint old town of Brunswick, on the River Ocker, was (and is still) the capital of the Duchy, and in the annals of its history from the beginning of the Seventeenth century to the middle of the Nineteenth century, the name of Wilmerding frequently appears in honourable mention.

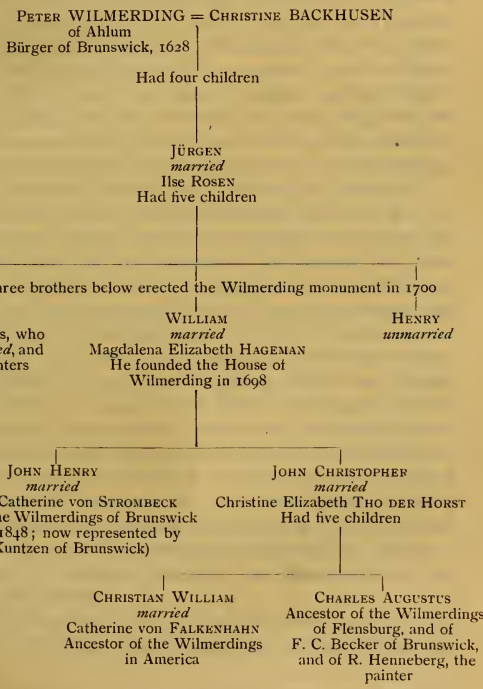
The town is supposed to have been founded by Duke Bruno of Enjern, or by his son Bruno, the son-in-law of Witikind; and it is said that Bishop Swibert, when going with a large train of followers to Saxony at the beginning of the Eighth century, found Brunswick a large and flourishing town, whereupon he preached there and converted many of the inhabitants. In 775 Charlemagne is said to have

passed by "*Brunonis vicum*," *i.e.* Brunswick, and in 955 Bruno I., Margrave of Saxony, enlarged and embellished the city. The River Ocker, which enters the plain in which the town is situated by two branches, separates into a number of streams which unite again at their issue beyond, and thus Brunswick came to be divided into five different parts known as the Old Town, the New Town, the Hagen or Burg, the Old Wieck, and the Sack. In the time of Henry the Lion the precincts of the city were each surrounded by a separate wall, but he, in 1177, enclosed them all with one wall. In the year 1314 the burghers of Brunswick were discharged from all kinds of villainage; and in 1345 the citizens acquired by mortgage the government of the town, and arrogated other immunities, which were the occasion of severe and tedious contests between them and the Duke. Finally, in 1671, Duke Rudolphus Augustus made himself master of the town after a long siege, by means of the cannon which had been lent him by the inhabitants for another purpose; and he erected a citadel to secure their subjection. It was about this period that the Wilmerding family rose to eminence.

Peter Wilmerding, who was born at Ahlum, some fifteen kilometres from Brunswick, about the year 1600, became a burgher of that city on the 4th of February, 1628, and on the 25th of the same month in that year he married Christine Backhusen. The Christian name of "*Christine*" appears several times in the Wilmerding pedigree, for after this it so happened that more than one of the family took to themselves wives bearing that name: the mother of John Henry Wilmerding (the last representative of his name in Brunswick) was *Christine* Wilhelmina Eliza von der Heyde; and the mother of Christian William Wilmerding (who went to America and there founded the family which still exists) was also a "Christine"—*Christine* Elizabeth Tho der Horst.

Peter Wilmerding's eldest son, Jürgen, was born in Brunswick, 2nd January, 1629, and married, 21st November, 1653, Ilse Rosen. She lived to see the Wilmerding monument erected on the outer wall of St. Martin's Church, in 1700, by her three sons, John, William, and Henry; and on her death she was the first person buried in the family tomb in that church. To the Anglo-Saxon ear such names as "Ilse" and "Jürgen" sound strange and quaint, since they are thoroughly

THE WILMERDINGS OF BRUNSWICK, NEW YORK, AND FLENSBURG


Peter WILMERDING = Christine BACKHUSEN
of Ahlum
Bürger of Brunswick, 1628
Had four children
Jürgen
married
Ilse Rosen
Had five children
The three brothers below erected the Wilmerding monument in 1700
John
Had two sons, who died unmarried, and three daughters
William
married
Magdalena Elizabeth Hageman
He founded the House of Wilmerding in 1698
Henry
unmarried
John Henry
married
Dorothea Catherine von Strombeck
Ancestor of the Wilmerdings of Brunswick (extinct in 1848; now represented by Herr Kuntzen of Brunswick)
John Christopher
married
Christine Elizabeth Tho der Horst
Had five children
Christian William
married
Catherine von Falkenhahn
Ancestor of the Wilmerdings in America
Charles Augustus
Ancestor of the Wilmerdings of Flensburg, and of F. C. Becker of Brunswick, and of R. Henneberg, the painter

German ; Jürgen had a sister who also was named *Ilse*, and his own Christian name was borne by a statuary of Brunswick who, in 1530, is said to have invented the first spinning wheels.

The three brothers who, in 1700, erected the family monument—which may still be seen—were three of the most influential citizens of Brunswick at that period. John was famous as a Doctor of Medicine,[1] William was prosperous as a merchant, and Henry was distinguished as a lawyer. It was on the 10th of March, 1700, that these brothers purchased from St. Martin's Church, in Brunswick, a site for a family tomb, and the stone monument which they erected bears their Arms.

Dr. John Wilmerding, the eldest brother, married Sophie Christine Stockhausen, and had two sons and three daughters, but his male line terminated with his sons, both of whom died unmarried.

William, the next brother, was the ancestor of the Wilmerdings of Brunswick, now extinct, and of the Wilmerdings in America.

Henry, the third brother—the lawyer—died unmarried in 1734, leaving a Will, dated 1726, in which he nominated as his heirs his brother William, and the five children of his brother, Dr. John Wilmerding. Of these, the elder son was *Justus George*, a lieutenant in the army, who died unmarried in 1741; and the younger was *Philip Wilhelm*, also in the army, and a Doctor of Medicine and Dean of St. Cyriaci, who was living in 1740 at 15 Gördlinger Strasse, and died unmarried in 1743; and the three sisters were *Sophie Elizabeth*, the wife of Frederick von Horn, Commissioner to the Duke of Brunswick, who founded a factory for the manufacture of Fayence ware, and to whose memory his wife erected a monument in St. Andrew's Church, where they both are buried; *Justine Elizabeth* Wilmerding, who died unmarried in 1772, having given, in 1766, a sum of two thousand seven hundred thalers in gold, the income from which was to support ten aged women, the wives of the pastors of St. Martin's and St. Andrew's Churches; and *Margaret Lucia*, the wife of the Secretary Meyer.

Dr. John Wilmerding's sons having thus died unmarried, the representation of the family devolved upon his brother William, the

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[1] An impression of the seal of Dr. John Wilmerding, about 1700, showing the Wilmerding Coat of Arms, is now in the possession of Lucius K. Wilmerding.

second of the three brothers who erected the family monument. William was born in Brunswick 28th May, 1674—three years after the termination of the siege of the city by Duke Rudolphus Augustus. Entering into mercantile pursuits, William Wilmerding was but twenty-four years of age when he founded, on the 22nd August, 1698, one of the most famous business houses in Brunswick, and one of the oldest in existence; for it has survived its *two hundredth anniversary*, which was celebrated 22nd August, 1898, the business being then still carried on under the name of F. B. C. Becker, whose wife, Catherine Augusta Wilmerding, was a great-granddaughter of the founder.

Two years later, William Wilmerding joined with his brothers, John and Henry, in the purchase of their family tomb, where they are interred with their mother, Ilse Rosen; and four years after the erection of the monument, William married, in 1704, Magdalena Elizabeth Hageman, by whom he had two sons and a daughter.

William Wilmerding's two sons, John Henry, and John Christopher, founded two distinct branches of the family. From John Henry, the elder, was descended the family of Wilmerding of Brunswick, whose last male representative died in 1848; and John Christopher, the younger brother, was the father of Christian Wilhelm Wilmerding, who settled in New York towards the close of the Eighteenth century.

Let us first treat of the senior and extinct line—the Wilmerdings of Brunswick.

CHAPTER II

THE WILMERDINGS OF BRUNSWICK

(The Senior but Extinct Line)

John Henry Wilmerding, the elder son of William Wilmerding by Magdalena Elizabeth Hageman, was born 3rd November, 1705, and growing up under the favourable auspices of his father's increasing prosperity, he became one of Brunswick's most weighty citizens. Well educated, good looking, and wealthy, he allied himself by marriage with some of the oldest nobility. His first wife, whose name was von Breyer, having died without issue, he married secondly, Dorothea Catherine von Strombeck, a lady of the noble house of that name which dates from the Fourteenth century. She was born in Brunswick in 1721, being thus some sixteen years his junior, and died there 31st October, 1790.

His eldest son and namesake was born in 1749, and his second son, John Augustus, died in childhood in 1753, whereupon a quaint poem of condolence was addressed to "*the parents of the highly-well-born and very noble gentleman, Mr. John August Wilmerding.*"[1]

The following year, 1754, the afflicted parents lost their eldest daughter. This was the year in which the city of Brunswick became the ducal residence, and the advent of a court with all its gaiety and social advantages was not lost upon persons of such wealth and rank as Mr. Wilmerding and his wife. Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, was at this time thirty-three years of age, and having been educated as a soldier, had entered the Prussian service at eighteen, and been engaged in the Silesian wars. He was the fourth son of Duke Ferdinand Albert, and younger brother of the Duke Charles. During the Seven Years War he commanded the allied army in Westphalia, and was one of the most eminent Generals, displaying the greatest ability in opposition to superior forces. In 1757 Brunswick was taken

[1] In the possession of Lucius K. Wilmerding.

by the French, who, however, evacuated it the following year, and the attempt which they made against it in 1761 was unsuccessful. Duke Ferdinand drove them from Lower Saxony, Hesse, and Westphalia, and was victorious in the two great battles of Crefeld and Minden. His nephew, the reigning Duke Charles William Ferdinand, having served under him, became also a very distinguished General. (His consort was Princess Augusta of England, sister of George III.) On the conclusion of peace Duke Ferdinand resigned his commission, and from that time until his death, in 1792, he lived in Brunswick, devoting himself to the patronage of art and literature. Such, briefly, were the most conspicuous Princes who now took up their abode in Brunswick. As a family they had produced many distinguished soldiers, and had spread themselves over several Principalities and Duchies, and it is worthy of recollection that two of their branches had, at this time, merged in the Crown of England by the marriage of the Elector George Lewis—afterwards King George I. of England—with his cousin, the beautiful and unhappy Princess Sophie Dorothea of Zell. The branch of the Royal House to which she and King George belonged was known as the House of Brunswick-Hanover and Brunswick-Lüneburg; but the Dukes who reigned *at* Brunswick—and who counted the Wilmerdings among their subjects—were styled of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, from the less important town of Wolfenbüttel some seven miles south of the city of Brunswick.

Mr. Wilmerding, who was Burgomaster of Brunswick, left in his Will a thousand thalers in gold and six hundred and fifty thalers in silver to establish a fund for the education of poor boys who were natives of the town. There is a pen-and-ink sketch of him, made shortly before his death, by his secretary, Wolff, which represents him with his hands clasped and a laurel wreath over his head.[1]

His elder and only surviving son was his namesake, the *second* John Henry, who, following in his father's footsteps, also became Burgomaster of Brunswick, an office which he held with honour for twenty-five years; and on his retirement the citizens presented him with a silver goblet in acknowledgment of his long and faithful service to the city.

[1] It is in the possession of Lucius K. Wilmerding.

JOHN HENRY WILMERDING

Born 8th April, 1749. Died 14th April, 1828

He was one of the most distinguished of his name; and his obituary, written shortly after his death, in 1828, by one of his mother's family—Count von Strombeck, President of the Westphalian Parliament—and now preserved in the Archives of Lower Saxony, gives some account of his life, and of the well-merited honours which he reaped.[1]

It runs as follows:

"John Henry Wilmerding was born at Brunswick on the 8th of April, 1749. He was the only son of the Burgomaster Wilmerding, whose wife was a von Strombeck. The Wilmerding Family was wealthy and of good position in the 18th century, but did not hold important offices in the earlier history of the town. The von Strombeck Family ranked among the nobility of Brunswick as early as the 14th century. Wilmerding's father was esteemed equally for his official capacity, his patriotism, and his learning. His patriotic spirit and high-mindedness had won for him the universal love and complete confidence of his fellow citizens. The Hanseatic times had passed away, but the old inhabitants still retained a certain spirit of Republicanism, and that was the spirit which possessed the honourable old Wilmerding their Burgomaster.

"His son, inheriting the same opinions and characteristics, was no less honoured and respected by the citizens, who looked to him as the successor of his father in the office of Burgomaster.

"Young Wilmerding received his early education at St. Martin's Grammar School,[2] which at that time was the best institution for instruction in the town, being under the control of the Town Council. Having been properly prepared he went subsequently to the University of Goettingen to devote himself to the study of law. After having studied there, he returned to Brunswick in order to serve his beloved native city as a lawyer. He soon succeeded in gaining the confidence of the higher authorities, and, after having practised law for a few years, was appointed, by the Magistrate, *Secretary to the Higher Court* of the town of Brunswick.

"He did not long remain in this subordinate position, for he soon received the important offices of *Director of the Lower Court* and *Supreme Judge* in criminal affairs, these being appointments held by the City Magistrates. He was universally recognised as the chief authority in all criminal matters.

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[1] The original, by Count von Strombeck, was dated from Wolfenbüttel. The above translation is from a copy which was made by C. W. Sady, and which is in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

[2] "Martinus Gymnasium."

"At this period he married"—Christine Wilhelmina Eliza—"the daughter of a highly respected merchant of Brunswick, named von der Heyde, with whom he lived happily and who survived him. He lost three of his children at short intervals, and only one son and one daughter lived to riper years.[1]

"By his ability and activity he rose to the highest honours in the city. He was elected *Mayor and Syndic of the High Court*, and to this office was afterwards added the *Directorship of the Ecclesiastical Court of Brunswick*. All these important positions he filled with honour, and the works which he compiled prove, even at the present day, his mental power and his knowledge of law.

"Thus Wilmerding pursued his life of activity, and was greatly esteemed, until the October of 1806, when the French troops occupied Brunswick,[2] whereupon there ensued a period of hardship which Wilmerding in his official capacity and as a *Member of the House of Commons*, elected by the town, met with great courage. The French authorities greatly respected him, and he used his utmost endeavours to mitigate the terms of the conditions which they imposed on his native city.

"On the 1st of March, 1808, the Government of the Dukedom (the Brunswick Militia), together with the Magistracy of the City was dissolved, and Wilmerding—having considerable wealth—retired to private life, but not to idleness, being determined still to serve his country.

"It appears that whilst examining the Archives of the town, which"—in spite of the French occupation—"were still open to him, he collected a vast number of them, the rescue of which from destruction was of no less importance to the History of Brunswick than to the preservation of its Code of Laws. He examined carefully the question of lands which had been lost to the town of Brunswick since its subjection in 1671, and, as the result of his labours, many of these old estates were restored to it under the Westphalian Government.

"He received the *Presidency of the Upper Sanitary College*, but was chiefly occupied by his position as a *Delegate to the First Westphalian Parliament* (1808), in which he represented the Ocker District.

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[1] The year of his affliction was 1807, when he lost not only his younger son, Charles Herman Wilmerding, at the age of eleven, but also his eldest daughter, Johanna Dorothea, wife of Mr. Goerner, on 8th September, at the age of twenty-four, and on the 1st of October his second daughter, Conradine Dorothea Melusina Wilmerding, aged eighteen. Mrs. Goerner was buried in St. Martin's Cemetery, where there is a monument to her memory. Mr. Wilmerding's two surviving children were the Rev. John Henry Wilmerding and Mrs. H. Kuntzen.

[2] Napoleon having included Brunswick in his kingdom of Westphalia, finally restored the Duchy to the reigning Duke in 1815.

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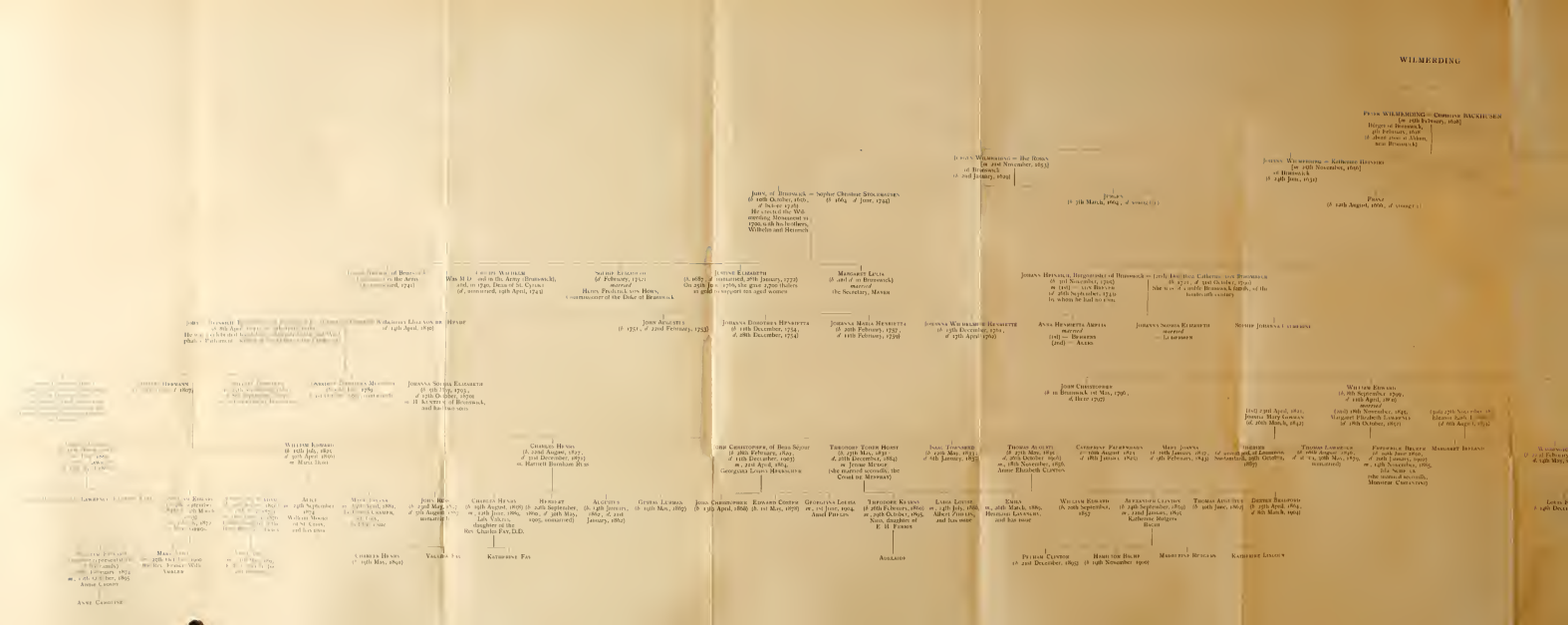
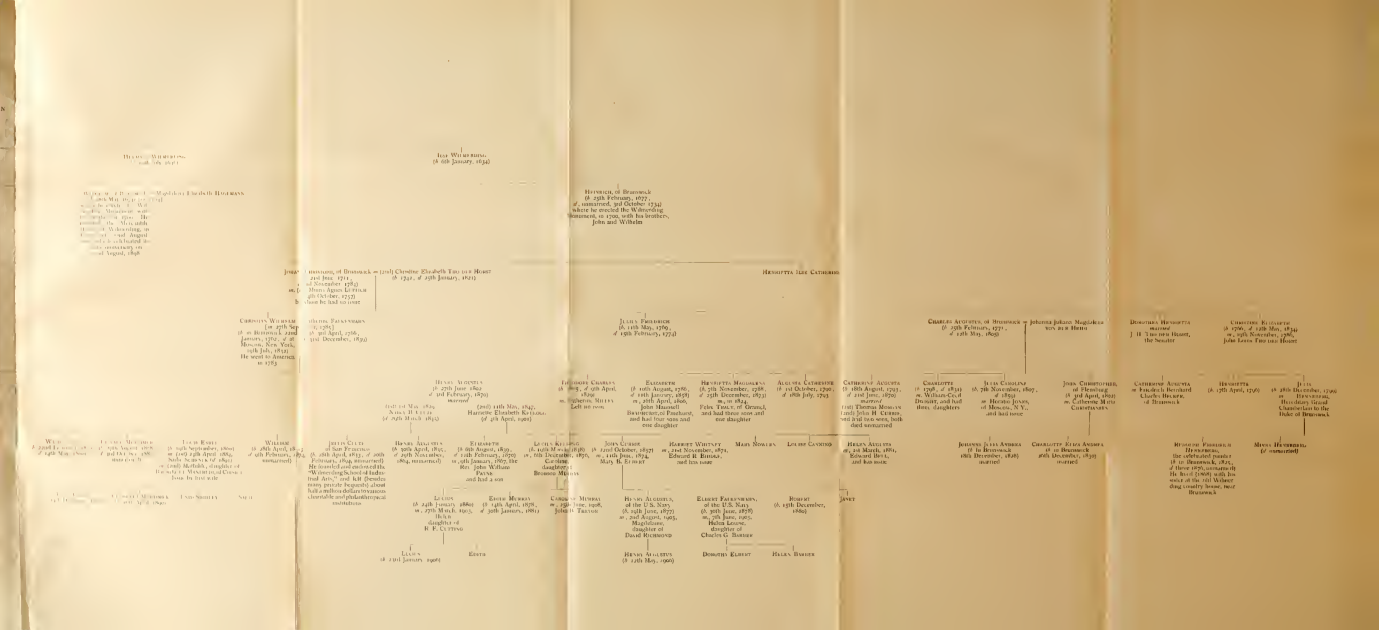
[1] The year of his affliction was 1807, when he lost not only his younger son, Charles Herman Wilmerding, at the age of eleven, but also his eldest daughter, Johanna Dorothea, wife of Mr. Goerner, on 8th September, at the age of twenty-four, and on the 1st of October his second daughter, Conradine Dorothea Melusina Wilmerding, aged eighteen. Mrs. Goerner was buried in St. Martin's Cemetery, where there is a monument to her memory. Mr. Wilmerding's two surviving children were the Rev. John Henry Wilmerding and Mrs. H. Kuntzen.

[2] Napoleon having included Brunswick in his kingdom of Westphalia, finally restored the Duchy to the reigning Duke in 1815.


WILMERDING



The Deputies, recognising his ability, chose him to be a *Member of the Civil Law Commission*, and the Commissioners elected him their Secretary.

"The writer of this paper was President of that Commission, and is thus able to testify that Wilmerding took no inconsiderable part in the drawing up of the Codes of Civil Law, and was of the greatest assistance in the passing of other Acts.

"To the second Assembly of the Deputies of the Kingdom,[1] which was called together in 1810, Wilmerding was again elected, and it was then, in that Chamber, that he delivered a Report on the Raising of Funds, and on the Claims which had been ceded by the French Emperor to the King of Westphalia. Thereupon the Deputies passed, on the 15th of February, the well-known law relating to it. At that time Wilmerding's speech (which appeared in print) met with no opposition, it being considered appropriate to the exigencies of the time and circumstances, but, in later days, when these were forgotten, he received a certain amount of blame for it. By this Diet of 1810, he was also once more elected a *Member of the Civil Law Commission*.

"At the dissolution of the Assembly,[2] the King of Westphalia, on the recommendation of his Minister, Count von Wolffrude, created Wilmerding, who was held in such high esteem, a *Knight of the Order of the Crown*.

"On the reorganisation of the Duchy of Brunswick (1814), Wilmerding was appointed *Director of the Town*, that is to say, *President of the Court of Justice* in Brunswick, the constitution of the magistracy having been abolished; and, in this new office, he displayed his usual ability, in spite of his advancing age.[3] These events took place during the minority of his Majesty the present King of Great Britain and Hanover.[4]

"The writer of these lines often heard Wilmerding address those Assemblies, his speeches being straight-forward, courteous, and convincing.

"On the 30th of September, 1825, his Jubilee"—that is, his twenty-fifth year in office—"was made the occasion of a celebration in the town, and he was presented with a silver-gilt cup bearing the Arms of the City of Brunswick and a suitable inscription. His health having begun to fail, he longed for repose, and having finally retired, he was pensioned, and allowed to retain his stipend in full. He had been much pleased at his reappointment to the office of *Director*, to

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[1] *i.e.* the kingdom of Westphalia, in which Napoleon had now included Brunswick.

[2] *i.e.* the Parliament.

[3] He was about sixty-six years of age.

[4] Von Strombeck thus alludes either to George IV. or William IV.

which he was restored under certain modifications, and in which he was succeeded by Doctor Bade, for whom he had a great regard. Wilmerding's retirement was, however, only in order that he might rest from his arduous public duties, but he continued the pursuit of his historical researches with renewed energy, and copied, in a remarkably fine hand-writing, some highly important MSS. in the Archives of Brunswick. He was thus employed when the writer of these lines last saw him, a few weeks before his death, which occurred on the 14th of April, 1828, at the age of seventy-nine years and six days.

"His character was based on the principles of the old Hansa period, with Republican sympathies, and he set truth and justice above all other considerations. Strict as he was in the fulfilment of his own duties, he was no less severe in his demands from others. His judgments were independent, and his remarks witty with a dry but biting humour. He bore with great fortitude the deaths of several of his children" (in 1807), "and, as already stated, he faced with calmness and steadfastness the adversities of his city during its occupation by the troops of Napoleon. It might almost have been supposed that he was unmoved by such stirring events, but his indifference was only feigned because he deemed it unworthy to display emotion under adversity. In his position as former Burgomaster he always acted with discretion and careful deliberation, for it was not in his nature to struggle and contend with the inevitable, but rather to gain his own ends by a course of patient perseverance and an outward assumption of apathy. Wilmerding favoured few with his friendship, but for the few he would have risked his life in spite of his coldness of manner, and to them he would, at times, on the occasion of some festivity, give a banquet at his house, where the old-fashioned furnished rooms were (otherwise) always locked.

"He himself lived in a room, facing the courtyard, in which nearly every chair and table was covered with books and dusty parchments. It was strange that he could accustom himself to a state of such confusion, since it, doubtless, frequently caused him delay. With visitors he would converse in a friendly but earnest manner, the more especially if he found that they were interested in Brunswick.

"He was a very learned and conscientious lawyer, of the old school of 1770, and he detested sophistry. He never bought a book without carefully reading it, and he collected the best French authors, and, during the Westphalian Diets, he studied the French Code. Thus he added somewhat to the library which he had inherited from his father, but, for himself, Wilmerding never figured as an author. Frugal as he was, avoiding all unnecessary expense, he denied himself nothing in literature, in every branch of which he was well-versed, and he would never concede any merit to modern works as compared with ancient writers. His furniture corresponded with his library—both were antiquated. It was for him, who lived in such a manner and

Christine Wilhelmina Eliza von der Heyde,

Wife of John Henry Wilmerding, of Brunswick

was possessed of a goodly income, to add materially to the wealth which he had inherited, since he never embarked upon a life of idle pleasure, nor realised what he missed of life's enjoyment.

"The honour and justice for which he was noted placed him above criticism, and his eccentricities were consequently merely regarded as the ways of an old-world character.

"Wilmerding's memory is still dear to his townsmen, especially dear to the citizens of Brunswick, that old city whose citizens, with a Republican spirit, despise all ostentation, and know full well how to appreciate the noble virtues of such a fellow-citizen as Wilmerding."

Thus wrote his kinsman, von Strombeck, in the early part of the Nineteenth century, and the memory of Wilmerding, which he then said was dear to the people of Brunswick, has continued to be revered and honoured by them. In 1868 the *Braunschweiger Tageblatt* of 2nd November contained a brief sketch of the life of Mr. Wilmerding, and in this it is related that one day, while walking in the street, he came across a man who was beating his wife, whereupon he stopped and remonstrated, but the woman turned angrily upon him and told him that she did not see what business it was of his to interfere. "True," said Wilmerding. "Go ahead, my man"; and the fellow now laid on his blows the more heavily, having thus the permission of no less an authority than the Burgomaster himself.

In 1895 a street in Brunswick—*Wilmerding Strasse*—was named in his honour on the one hundredth anniversary of his entering on the office of Mayor of the city. The *Tageblatt* of the 24th October in that year, referring to this, says that one evening, when he was playing cards at his club, his partner fell dead from an epileptic stroke, whereupon he calmly took up the dead man's cards, saying, "I would like to see what game he could have played had he lived."

When Wilmerding was lying on his death-bed, he laughingly told a friend that he called his swollen feet his "*slippers for Heaven.*" On his death, 14th April, 1828, he bequeathed his father's library, as well as his own, to the City of Brunswick.[1] By his wife, Christine Wilhemina Eliza von der Heyde, he had five children, of whom the two surviving were Johanna Sophia Elizabeth, wife of H. Kuntzen, of

[1] His seal, with the Wilmerding Arms, is now in the possession of Lucius K. Wilmerding.

Brunswick, and John Henry Wilmerding, a Lutheran clergyman, who was born 25th October, 1785, and died 5th January, 1848, unmarried, being the last representative of the senior line of the Wilmerdings in Brunswick, whereupon the representation of the family in that city devolved, in the female line, upon his nephew, the late *Herr Kuntzen*, of Brunswick, and the representation of the Wilmerding family in the male line passed to the Rev. John Henry Wilmerding's cousins in America, descended from his great-uncle, John Christopher Wilmerding.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER WILMERDING,
OF BRUNSWICK

Born 21st June, 1711. Died 3rd November, 1784

The original portrait was lately in the possession of his great-grandson, the late John Christopher Wilmerding, of Beau Sejour, Orange, New Jersey, by whose kind permission it is here reproduced

CHAPTER III

THE WILMERDINGS IN AMERICA—THO DER HORST, AND FALKENHAHN

John Christopher Wilmerding—from whom the American family of Wilmerding is descended—was born in Brunswick, 21st June, 1711, and was the younger son of William Wilmerding by Magdalena Elizabeth Hageman. He was a merchant of some importance, and, having succeeded to his father's business, became as influential in commerce as his brother and his nephew—the two John Henry Wilmerdings—were in the politics of Brunswick.

His first wife, Minna Agnes Lüttich, having died 4th October, 1757, without issue, he married secondly Christine Elizabeth Tho der Horst, by whom he had Christian William and two other sons, and two daughters.

John Christopher showed his enlightenment by being the first person in Brunswick to have his children vaccinated, 1st December, 1767: and he proved his commercial prosperity by building, in 1763, the imposing family mansion in the Breite Strasse, next to the old "Stadt-haus." This old Wilmerding mansion could still be seen in the Nineteenth century, bearing witness to the position of its late owners. The site, which is of some consequence in the annals of Brunswick, had been purchased by Mr. Wilmerding from the family of von Walbeck; it had previously, as far back as 1322, been the property of the family of de Domo, or *von dem Haus*—so called because they lived near the "Altstadtrathaus."

Mr. Wilmerding also possessed a country seat near Brunswick, which was eventually purchased by his great-grandson, Rudolph Frederick Henneberg, the artist.

A portrait of John Christopher was in the possession of his great-grandson, the late John Christopher Wilmerding, at "Beau Séjour," and another is the property of Lucius K. Wilmerding, of New York—

likewise a great-grandson—who also possesses a portrait of John Christopher's wife, Christine Elizabeth Tho der Horst, who was born in Brunswick in 1742, and died there 25th January, 1821. By her John Christopher had five children. He died 3rd November, 1784, his second son, Julius Frederick, having predeceased him ten years previously.

Of the four surviving children, Christian William, the eldest, founded the present family of Wilmerding in America; Charles Augustus, whose male line is extinct, had an only son, living at Flensberg, Germany;[1] and the two daughters, Dorothea Henrietta and Christine Elizabeth, married respectively J. H. Tho der Horst, the senator, and John Louis Tho der Horst. The double marriage of these two sisters was the theme of several poems of congratulation, which are preserved in the Library of Brunswick, for not only were the bridegrooms of the same name, but the mother of the brides was also, it will be remembered, of the family of Tho der Horst. This surname is sometimes (incorrectly) written *Toderhorst;*[2] and it was probably a son of one of these two sisters who was the "George Ferdinand Toderhorst," whose papers, partly burned, were saved from the fire on the premises of Messrs. Bradhurst & Field.[3] From these documents it seems that he was possessed of some means, and was in business in New York, and had numerous transactions with that firm. He appears to have had a lawsuit in Westphalia. He died in 1804, in New York, having appointed as his executor John Maunsell Bradhurst, whose wife was a daughter of Christian William Wilmerding. Whether George Ferdinand "Toderhorst" was indeed the son of one of the two sisters above-mentioned cannot be positively stated, but that he was related to them and to their brother, Christian William, and therefore also to Mrs. John Maunsell Bradhurst, appears to be almost beyond doubt.

Christian William Wilmerding, the eldest son of John Christopher Wilmerding by Christine Elizabeth Tho der Horst, was born in

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[1] Refer to "*Wilmerding of Flensberg.*"

[2] The family of Tho der Horst was of some consequence at the beginning of the Seventeenth century.

[3] These letters and papers are in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

The Mansion of John Christopher Wilmerding, in the City of Brunswick

A Country Seat of John Christopher Wilmerding, in the environs of Brunswick,
which eventually became the residence of his great-grandson, R. F. Henneberg,
who died there in 1876

Brunswick, 22nd January, 1762, and confirmed in St. Martin's Church 15th April, 1776. He was only a year old when his father built the family mansion in the Breite Strasse, and it was there that he grew up as the heir of a wealthy and influential house, connected with many of the leading families in Brunswick. He was about twenty-one years of age when he first visited America, where now there are so many of his descendants, who, so far as is known, are sole bearers of the name of Wilmerding. It was about the year 1783, at the close of the American Revolution, that he crossed the ocean, his father having sent him to visit foreign lands and to "see the world." It was with no thought of settling in the newly emancipated Colonies that he came, but merely as the son of a wealthy German sent on his travels—as a traveller piqued with curiosity. As a German he had many of the prejudices and exaggerated ideas of America which at that time pervaded Europe, but as a Brunswicker he had imbibed some of the traditions of that old town of the Hansa League, which found a sympathetic chord in the Independence of the New Republic.

However sanguine his expectations may have been, he certainly does not seem to have been disappointed in America, for he not only immediately lost his heart, but eventually returned and settled there.

It is said that on the first Sunday after his landing in New York, he was so struck by the appearance of a young lady coming out of the Lutheran Church, that he not only inquired her name, but then and there vowed to a friend that he would woo and win her! Her name was Catharine von Falkehahn, and she was then scarcely eighteen, being some four years his junior. But the oft-repeated quotation anent "the course of true love"—(and what could have been more romantic than young Wilmerding's love at first sight on coming to a strange land?)—would seem to have been applicable in this case, for their courtship was cut short by the death of his father in Brunswick. At least, the tradition of his falling in love and the dates of occurrences suggest this conclusion. His father, John Christopher, died 3rd November, 1784, but whether the son had returned to Germany from his travels before that date, or whether he did so soon afterwards, does not seem clear. At all events, the impression he had received in America was sufficiently deep to bring him back, and he

married Catherine von Falkenhahn in St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, New York, on the 27th September, 1785.[1]

The name of Falkenhahn—which is also spelt Falkenhan, Falkenhagen, Falkenhayn, Falkenhain, and Falkenhein—is one which is frequently to be found in Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Posen, Elsass, West Prussia, Bohemia, and Lower Austria; various branches, all of the same family, write it differently, and some of them have been ennobled as Barons and Counts. The latter, who now call themselves Falkenhayn, were formerly Falkenhagen, and were created Counts in Bohemia in 1689, in Silesia in 1694, and in Prussia in 1741. That Catharine von Falkenhahn was entitled to the prefix "von" (which, in Germany, is of some importance) is beyond all doubt; moreover, her sister's husband, Baron George Frederick Schilling von Canstadt, repeatedly wrote the name in that manner—"*von* Falkenhahn"—although he himself thought so little of this sign of nobility that he sometimes omitted it in writing his own.

The father of Catherine von Falkenhahn is said to have been a German officer belonging to one of the ennobled branches of that family, who served and died in America. There is a tradition that he was a political refugee, and had been a nobleman of some weight in Poland during the troubles through which that country was then passing. His widow, Justina Magdalena von Falkenhahn, was living in New York in 1786, when she was Godmother to her eldest grandchild, Elizabeth Wilmerding.[2]

Catherine von Falkenhahn had two brothers, John and Samuel, and two sisters; of the former very little is known, except that they were witnesses to her marriage to Christian William Wilmerding, in 1785, and that there was a monument erected to the memory of Samuel von Falkenhahn, which bore a long epitaph, in German, praising him in all the eulogistic terms in vogue at that period.[3]

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[1] Some books in which she wrote her married name, "Catharine Wilmerding," are in the possession of her great-grandson, A. M. Bradhurst.

[2] Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Christian William Wilmerding and Catherine von Falkenhahn, became the wife of John Maunsell Bradhurst.

[3] A quaint copy of this epitaph was in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst. The name "Samuel" seems to suggest that his parents came to America previous to his birth, and that they named him after some friend in the new country; for it is

von Falkenhahn
(von Falkenhagen, Falkenhayn)

Both brothers are supposed to have died unmarried in America. Of Catherine's two sisters, the name of Elizabeth Falkenhahn appears as Godmother, in 1790, to her niece, Augusta Catherine Wilmerding;[1] and the youngest sister, Magdalena von Falkenhahn, became the wife of Baron George Frederick Schilling von Canstadt. At the time, however, of Mr. Wilmerding's marriage to Catherine von Falkenhahn, her sister, Magdalena, was not yet married, for it was not until some two years later that Baron von Schilling came to America.

He was the third son of Baron Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Schilling von Canstadt, and was born at Carlsruhe (Baden) 16th June, 1762, and was educated there and at Hohenwettersbach. He had been Page at the Court of Baden, in which Grand Duchy his family still possess family estates. In 1782 he entered the service of the King of Sardinia, and became a Lieutenant in the "Royal Allemand" Regiment, his uncle, Count Leutrum-Ertingen, being the Commander-in-Chief. In 1787, when the Sardinian forces were reduced, Baron von Schilling first of all withdrew on half-pay, and subsequently resigned. It was in August of that year that he left his brother's estate at Hohenwettersbach, and set out to seek his fortune. He arrived in Philadelphia 9th November, full of the most sanguine hopes, but he was inexperienced in business matters, and his dreams seem soon to have been cruelly dispelled. On coming to New York he fell in love with Mrs. Wilmerding's young sister, Magdalena von Falkenhahn, and they were married there 29th August, 1788, at St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, and her brother-in-law, Christian William Wilmerding, was one of the witnesses. Baron von Schilling was, for a time, engaged in commerce in New York, and at "*Pyramos*," *i.e.* Paramus, New Jersey, where he resided, after his marriage, on the estate of Baron von Rothenburg.[2] The mention of Paramus in connection with Baron

improbable that the son of a German noble, born in Germany, would have been so named. It is not likely that Mrs. von Falkenhahn was an American, since her Christian names were "Justina Magdalena"; she probably accompanied her husband from Germany, some time before the birth of their son "Samuel."

[1] Augusta Catherine Wilmerding died when three years old. She was the third daughter of Christian William Wilmerding and Catherine von Falkenhahn.

[2] Data supplied by General Julius von Loewenfeld, grandson of Baron von Schilling by Magdalena von Falkenhahn.

von Schilling recalls the fact that Samuel Bradhurst was living there only six years previously, and that his son, John Maunsell, who was baptised in the old Dutch Church at Paramus, eventually married Elizabeth Wilmerding, the niece of Baroness von Schilling. It was to Paramus, too, that Samuel Bradhurst had been sent as a prisoner, during the Revolution, to the house of Colonel Prevost, and it was there that he married Mrs. Prevost's cousin. It is one of those odd coincidences to be met with in family histories that we should thus again be brought in touch with this little New Jersey village, whose chief points of interest now are its church, dating from 1725, and the residence, called "The Hermitage," where formerly Mrs. Prevost lived. Both she and Samuel Bradhurst were probably well acquainted with their neighbour, Baron Rothenburg, if not also with Baron von Schilling, and the von Falkenhahns, and Wilmerdings.

Baron von Schilling's eldest daughter, Juliana Carolina Magdalena, was born at Paramus 26th July, 1789, and it is said that George Washington and Benjamin Franklin stood as her Godfathers.[1] As regards the President, he may have done so on the occasion when he and Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst were, it will be remembered, both staying in that neighbourhood, on a visit presumably to her aunt, Mrs. de Visme, the mother of Mrs. Prevost. But it appears more probable that these distinguished sponsors were represented by proxies, for, on 27th July, 1789, Washington wrote to Bushrod Washington: "Among the first acts of my recommencing business after lying six weeks on my right side, is that of writing to you this letter . . . *not being able to sit up without some uneasiness* it must be short." As to Franklin, he died about a year after the baptism, having been infirm for some time.[2] The actual date of this baptism is not known, but it is possible that General Washington had by then sufficiently recovered to be present. Another person who was probably also present was Baron von Schilling's eldest brother, Baron Carl Friedrich Schilling von Canstadt, who, having come with the intention of purchasing lands in

[1] She married Christopher Heinrich Storjohann, and her descendants live in Hamburg and Altona.

[2] Letter reporting researches at Paramus from Miss Margaret Middleton to L. K. Wilmerding, November, 1901.

America for his younger sons, reached New Jersey after many adventures, 3rd August, 1789—only a week after the birth of his niece, and therefore in time for her baptism. He took up his abode with his brother on Baron von Rothenburg's estate, but family matters soon hastened his return to his own estates in Germany. Meanwhile the younger brother (Baron George Frederick)—the husband of Magdalena von Falkenhahn—remained at Paramus with his wife and child until September, 1790, when he took them to France. None of his younger children were born in America; and he only revisited it once again in 1791, when he arrived at Philadelphia in the month of May, and sailed again for France from Baltimore in the following July. The French Revolution caused him immediately to leave France, and he came to England in September of the same year, and there he eventually died. His children by Magdalena von Falkenhahn married Germans, and their descendants are in Germany. His youngest daughter, Carolina Wilhelmina Eliza Schilling von Canstadt,[1] married the late General von Löwenfeld, who was the first Governor of Metz after the Franco-German War of 1870, and their sons are the present General Julius von Löwenfeld, and General Alfred von Löwenfeld, aide-de-camp to the German Emperor.

[1] *Dame des Luisen-Ordens.*

CHAPTER IV

THE WILMERDINGS IN AMERICA—CHRISTIAN WILLIAM

Soon after his marriage Christian William Wilmerding became a member of the German Society of New York, and as its Secretary, in 1788, he certified that his brother-in-law, Baron George Frederick Schilling von Canstadt, had been elected an honorary member of that Society.[1]

Two years later, in 1790, Mr. Wilmerding identified himself with the country of his adoption by becoming an Ensign in Colonel Rutger's Militia. In 1792 he was one of the original subscribers to the famous Tontine Society, of whom it has been said that "they were the founders of our great commercial City, and their names should be honoured as long as the City endures."[2] Another original subscriber was Thomas Buchanan, whose granddaughter, Mary Pearsall, eventually married Mr. Wilmerding's grandson, Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst. Mr. Wilmerding's eldest daughter, Elizabeth (Mrs. John Maunsell Bradhurst), became through him one of the celebrated nominees of the Tontine.

In 1795 he returned to Germany to visit his mother and relatives in Brunswick. During these, the first ten years of his marriage, his four eldest daughters were born, and he recorded these events in a Bible which had been presented to him in Brunswick on his confirmation, as appears from the following inscription (in German) therein:

"On the Sunday, Quasimodogeniti, 1776, Monsieur Christian Wilhelm Wilmerding was confirmed by me at St: Martin's Church.

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[1] The original was signed by von Steuben, the President, and by "William Wilmerding," the Secretary. A copy is in the possession of General Julius von Loewenfeld, a grandson of Baron G. F. von Schilling. Mr. Wilmerding frequently omitted his first name "Christian."

[2] *Old Merchants of New York.*

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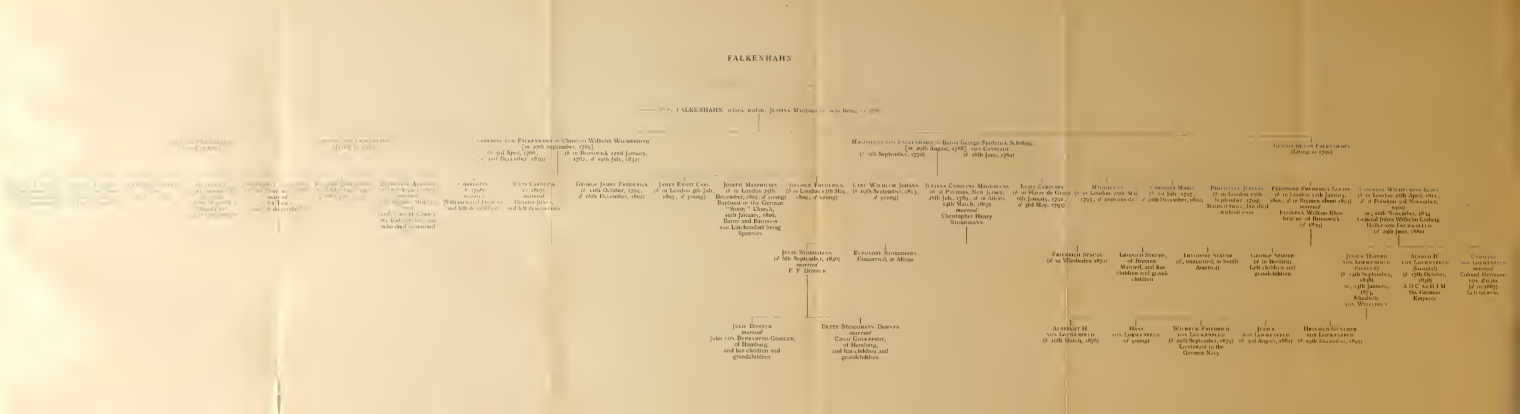
FALKENHAHN
Ferdinand von Falkenhayn
(1749 to 1801)
Christian Wilhelm Waldemund
(b 3rd April, 1780
d 31st December 1839)
Magdalena von Falkenhayn
(b 20th August, 1788)
(d 9th September, 1796)
Baron George Frederick Schilling
von Canstadt
(b 16th June, 1782)
Leopold Julius Falkenhayn
(Ratzeburg 1790)
Julius Dorotty
married
John von Bernartino-Gossler,
of Hamburg,
and has children and
grandchildren
Betty Strohmann Darwin
married
Count Gravenreuth,
and has children and
grandchildren
Adelbert H
von Lechtenfeld
(b 10th March, 1876)
Hans
von Lechtenfeld
(b young)
Wilhelm Friedrich
von Lechtenfeld
(b 29th September, 1835
Lieutenant in the
German Navy
Julius
von Lechtenfeld
(b 3rd August, 1880)
Hermann Gustav
von Lechtenfeld
(b 19th December, 1875)
Clemens
von Lechtenfeld
married
Gerhard Hermann
von Zelle
(d 1st August, 1887)
(all childless)

"With God's grace may he fulfil the good expectations of, and become a consolation to his parents in their old age.

"J. D. FLÜGGE,
"*Vicar of St. Martin's.*"

The entries in Mr. Wilmerding's handwriting, also in German, are:

"On Sept: 27th, 1785, I took in wedlock the spinster, Catherina Falkenhahn.

"August 10th, 1786, at 9 a.m., my eldest daughter was born, and on[1] . . . she received in Holy Baptism the name of Elizabeth. Witnesses were:[2]

"1. Mrs. Christine Elizabeth Wilmerding, my dearest lady mother, in Brunswick.[3]

"2. Mr. Conrad Ludew to der Horst, my uncle in Brunswick.

"3. Mrs. Justina Magdalena Falkenhahn, my dear wife's mother, in New York.

"For the two former my dear wife and I stood proxy.

"November 7th, 1788, at 7 p.m. my second daughter was born, and received the names of Henrietta Magdalena in Holy Baptism. Witnesses were:

"1. Mrs. Christine Elizabeth Wilmerding, my dearest mother, in Brunswick.

"2. Mr. John Ludew to der Horst, my brother-in-law in Brunswick.

"3. Mrs. Dorothea Henrietta to der Horst, my eldest sister, in Brunswick.

"My dear wife and I were proxies for the absent ones.

"October 1st, 1790, at 1 p.m., my third daughter was born, who received the names of Augusta Catherine in Holy Baptism. Witnesses were:

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[1] The date is omitted.

[2] *i.e.* Godparents.

[3] The wording is equivalent to the French "Monsieur mon oncle," "Madame ma mère," etc.

"1. Spinster Elizabeth Falkenhan,[1] my dear wife's youngest sister.

"2. Mrs. Christine Elizabeth to der Horst, my youngest sister, in Brunswick.

"3. Mr. Carl August Wilmerding, my brother in Brunswick.

"For the two latter Godparents my dear wife and I were proxies.

"On July 18:, 1793, at 10 p.m. my youngest daughter, Augusta Catherine, died of inflammatory fever.

"On August 18th, 1793, at midnight, my fourth daughter was born. She received the names of her late sister, Catharine Augusta, in Holy Baptism. My dear wife and I represented the Godparents by proxy.[2]

"On May 21st, 1795, I went to Germany with my dear wife and my eldest and youngest daughters, in order to pay a visit to my dearest mother and my family in Brunswick."

There are no further entries in this Bible;[3] of the four daughters mentioned, Elizabeth, the eldest, became Mrs. John Maunsell Bradhurst; Henrietta, the second, married Felix Tracy; the third, Augusta Catherine, died at the age of three; and the fourth, Catherine Augusta, married firstly Mr. Morgan, and secondly Mr. Currie. It was the second child, Henrietta, whom her parents left in America with her grandmother Falkenhahn, while they took with them to Germany Elizabeth, the eldest, and Catherine Augusta, the youngest.

His arrival at the old family abode, where his widowed mother was then living—accompanied by his young wife, two children, and a negress as nurse—caused no little interest and gossip among the

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[1] It will be noted that the name Falkenhahn is indifferently spelt, both with and without the second "h," but it is more correct not to omit it. Mr. Wilmerding also omitted the "h" from the first syllable of Tho der Horst, and never wrote it with a capital "T." This name likewise appears to have been spelt either way, but, almost always, in three distinct parts not joined together.

[2] Catherine Augusta became eventually Mrs. John Currie. Her father does not say who her Godparents were, but he seems to imply that she not only had the same names as the sister who had predeceased her, but also the same sponsors.

[3] This Bible, which was printed in Brunswick in 1769, is now in the possession of Mr. Wilmerding's great-grandson, A. M. Bradhurst, whose grandmothers were the two eldest of the four daughters whose births are thus entered in it.

townsfolk of Brunswick, where his name was so well known and his family had been for so long conspicuous and esteemed. Rumours of all sorts were soon spread, and the fact that his wife was of the noble family of Falkenhahn, was entirely overlooked by many of the old neighbours and friends who were curious to see the young Mrs. Wilmerding from America. The news of his return had reached the Ducal Court, and the Duke, who happened to be passing through the Breite Strasse, looked up with some curiosity at the Wilmerding mansion, and fixing his eyes on one of the windows bowed, then paused, and smiling, bowed again and again, all his courtiers following suit. The Wilmerdings, watching the procession from another part of the house, were surprised to find that these marks of princely favour were not directed to them, and, on going to discover the cause, found that it was the negress who had attracted so much attention, as standing conspicuously with one child in her arms, and another by her side, she continued curtsying and grinning, while the Duke and his friends mistook her for young Wilmerding's *American wife!*

The mirth of the Duke and his courtiers on learning their mistake can well be fancied, and Mr. Wilmerding and his family considered it a huge joke; but the feelings of the indignant lady, for whom her dusky maid was thus mistaken, can only be imagined, especially as she not only prided herself on her Falkenhahn connections, but is also said to have been considered of comely mien!

Christian William Wilmerding and his family remained in Brunswick about two years, and, indeed, it does not appear that they had at this time any intention of returning to America. His cousin, John Henry, the Burgomaster—after whom Wilmerding Strasse is named—was then at the height of his reputation and influence, and the family name was never held in more esteem than at this period. Christian William, although of a younger branch, was the possessor of the imposing Wilmerding house; his wife—about whose *complexion* there were now no more mistakes—was much admired, and his business undertakings prospered. A year passed, and his prosperity was crowned by the birth of his first son, 1st May, 1796, named John Christopher.

Another year, and in 1797 the child died; and a well-known business house with which Mr. Wilmerding was connected failed.

An accumulation of sorrows and calamities compelled him to leave the home of his forefathers, and return to America, never again to see his native land. His other children were all born in New York; the daughter Charlotte (afterwards Mrs. Dwight) being, in 1798, the first one born after the final departure of her parents from Germany. Mr. Wilmerding's eldest surviving son, William Edward, was born in 1799; in 1802, his second surviving son, Henry Augustus; in 1805, the youngest son, Theodore Charles, and in 1807, the youngest daughter, Julia Caroline, were born.

Some time after his return to New York Mr. Wilmerding occupied a country place known as "The Front House," which was part of Samuel Bradhurst's property, and which derived its name from its position on the Pinehurst estate. This old house, although not so large nor of such historic importance as the mansion of Pinehurst, was yet regarded with some interest in later years, as being one of the old land-marks so quickly vanishing with the growth of modern New York. "The Front House" was finally demolished about the year 1872, to make way for the opening of the St. Nicholas Avenue. It was while he was living there that Mr. Wilmerding's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was married to John Maunsell Bradhurst, on 26th April, 1806. She and her sisters were noted for the many accomplishments in which they vied with one another, each excelling according to her Muse. Elizabeth was the artist, Henrietta the most witty and literary, and Catherine Augusta the most musical of the family. The eldest, too, developed considerable business ability, and her descendants, it is said, owe much to the sound judgment and clear foresight with which she advised Mr. Bradhurst in later years.

Mr. Wilmerding's second daughter, Henrietta Magdalena (subsequently Mrs. Felix Tracy), wrote several plays, one of which was successfully produced on the stage of a New York theatre.

Mr. Wilmerding remained in New York City until about the year 1820, when he went to live at Moscow, Livingston County, New York. He was Vice-President, and then President, of the German Society, and was one of the first officers of Holland Lodge. In 1821 he received the news of his mother's death in Brunswick, and thus the strongest remaining link which bound him to his native city was broken. He died at Moscow (New York) on the 19th of July, 1832,

CHRISTINE ELIZABETH THO DER HORST (*born 1742; died 1821*), WIFE OF JOHN CHRISTOPHER WILMERDING, OF BRUNSWICK

The original portraits are in the possession of their great-grandson, Lucius K. Wilmerding, of New York, by whose kind permission they are here reproduced

aged seventy, and his wife, Catherine (von Falkenhahn) survived him until 31st December, 1839. They are both buried in the family burial ground of the Wilmerdings at Moscow.

He was the first of his family to come to America, and, so far as is known, his descendants are the sole bearers of the old and noted Brunswick name. A few years later, in 1848, his cousin, John Henry Wilmerding—son of the famous Burgomaster—died in Brunswick, whereupon the male line of the senior branch became extinct, and the representation of the family devolved on the sons of Christian William Wilmerding in America.

CHAPTER V

THE WILMERDINGS IN AMERICA—WILLIAM EDWARD

William Edward, the eldest surviving son of Christian William Wilmerding, was born in New York, 8th September, 1799. He became one of the most distinguished and prosperous merchants of his day—one of those whose honourable careers Mr. Walter Barrett loved to describe in his history of the *Old Merchants of New York*—and, withal, Mr. Wilmerding was as well known for his generosity and kindness of heart as he was for his business ability. Genial and sympathetic, he subscribed largely to the charitable and philanthropic institutions of his city, and his known integrity and his courtly manners won for him the respect of all with whom he was brought in contact. A true friend—without ever a backward glance or petty consideration—there were many among his less fortunate acquaintances and relatives who owed to him their first step on the ladder of prosperity.

He founded the firm of Wilmerding, Priest, & Mount, for so long well known as Wilmerding & Mount.

He married three times; his first wife was Joanna Mary Gosman, who was born in Scotland 29th November, 1801, being the daughter of George Gosman, a Scotchman, descended, it is said, from the ancient Spanish family of Guzman,[1] through the Duke of Medonia-Sidonia, a Grandee of Spain, who, having come to England in the Spanish Armada (*temp.* Queen Elizabeth), finally took refuge and settled in Scotland.[2]

By this marriage Mr. Wilmerding had seven sons and one surviving daughter, who died unmarried in Switzerland, in 1887, from the effects of a fire. Of the sons, George Gosman Wilmerding, the eldest, married Cornelia Lawrence (a sister of his step-mother's), and

[1] The French Empress, Eugénie, is derived from the Spanish house of Guzman.

[2] Data supplied by Mrs. Wilmerding, of Beau Séjour.

died leaving daughters only; the second son, William Edward,[1] named after his father, had four children, of whom the eldest, another William Edward,[2] was the father of an only son, also named William Edward, who was born in 1874.

The third son of Mr. Wilmerding by Joanna Gosman was the late Charles Henry Wilmerding, who left several sons by his wife, Harriet Burnham Russ; the fourth was the late John Christopher, who left two sons and a daughter by his wife, Georgiana Louisa, daughter of the late Charles Heckscher, by Georgiana Louisa, daughter of John Gerard Coster; the fifth son was the late Theodore Wilmerding, who left a son and two daughters; the sixth son died in childhood; and the seventh, Thomas Augustus, married Miss Anne Elizabeth Clinton, and had four sons.

Mr. Wilmerding having lost his first wife (Joanna Gosman) 26th March, 1842, married secondly 18th November, 1845, Margaret Elizabeth Lawrence, one of several much-admired sisters, of whom another married Mr. Wilmerding's eldest son, George Gosman Wilmerding, as already stated. By this marriage Mr. Wilmerding had two sons and a daughter:—Thomas Lawrence Wilmerding, who died unmarried in 1879; the late Frederick Becker Wilmerding, who married Miss Ida Schenck in 1885, and died without issue in Paris, January, 1902; and Margaret Ireland Wilmerding.

The second wife dying 18th October, 1852, Mr. Wilmerding married thirdly his deceased wife's sister,[3] Eleanore Earle Lawrence, 27th November, 1852, and had three sons. The eldest of these, named Washington, died in childhood; Edward Mortimer, the second, died unmarried in 1887; and Louis Earle, the third, married firstly Miss

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[1] The four children of Wiiliam Edward Wilmerding and his wife, Maria Dore, are the late William Edward Wilmerding; the late Ferdinand Wilmerding (who married Emma, daughter of the Hon. B. Tracy); Mrs. William Moore, and Mrs. Le Grand Cramer.

[2] The late William Edward Wilmerding (son of William Edward Wilmerding and Maria Dore) married 1st July, 1872, Miss Mary Gregg, the ceremony being performed by her father, the Bishop of Texas, assisted by the Bishops of Mississippi and Tennessee.

[3] The law with regard to Deceased Wife's Sister was the same in the United States as it is at present (1909) in England.

S. Schenck (a sister of his step-brother Frederick's wife), by whom he had issue, and secondly Mathilde, daughter of Baron G. de Manfredi, of Corsica, by whom he has further issue.

Mr. Wilmerding—who was one of the most notable merchants of New York during the early part of the Nineteenth century—died 11th April, 1860, and was buried in Greenwood, and his widow (Eleanore Lawrence) survived him until 6th August, 1874. An obituary notice which appeared shortly after his death says :

"Through a long course of years, he has maintained a high and unblemished reputation as a man of business, and as a citizen; nor have his private virtues less truly won for him the esteem of a wide circle of friends. His death creates a void in the highest walks of our commercial life—an ambition to occupy which would well become the best of our rising business men."

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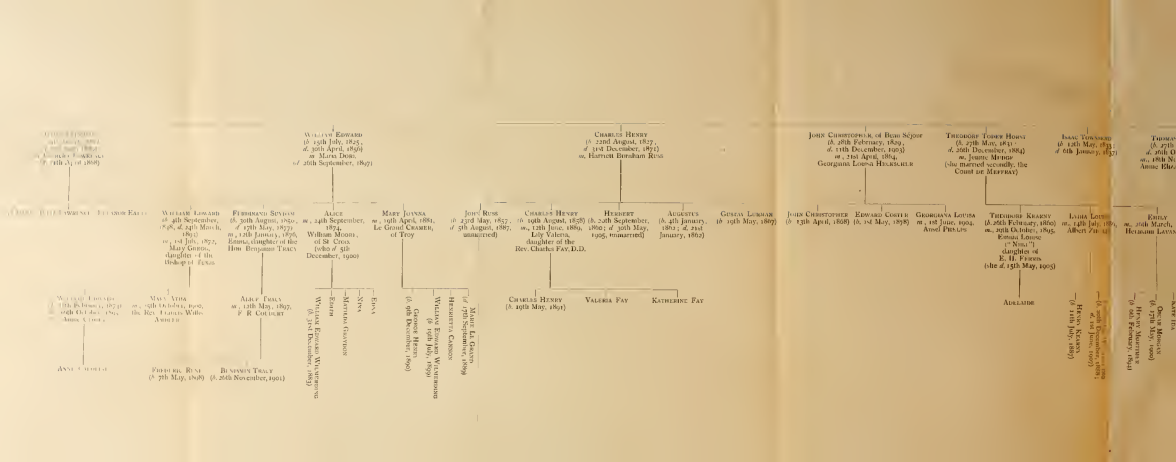

THE DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM EDWARD WILMERDING

(SON OF CHRISTIAN WILLIAM WILMERDING AND CATHERINE NÉE FALKENHAGEN)

He was born 8th September, 1790, and died 11th April, 1862

married

(1st) 23rd April, 1821, Joanna Mary Goodson (*d.* 26th March, 1842)

(2nd) 18th November, 1845, Margaret Elizabeth Lawrence (*d.* 18th October, 1857)

(3rd) 27th November, 1862, Eleanor Earle Lawrence (*d.* 6th August, 1874)

THOMAS AUGUSTUS
(*b.* 27th May, 1823, *d.* 20th October, 1906)
m., 18th November, 1846, Annie Elizabeth Clinton

CATHERINE FALKENHAGEN
(*b.* 16th August, 1825, *d.* 18th January, 1875)

MARY JOANNA
(*b.* 10th January, 1827, *d.* 9th February, 1843)

CATHERINE
(*d.* unmarried, at Lausanne, Switzerland, 29th October, 1887)

THOMAS LAWRENCE
(*b.* 15th August, 1840, *d.* at sea, 30th May, 1870, unmarried)

FREDERICK BECKER
(*b.* 10th June, 1850, *d.* 20th January, 1902)
m., 14th November, 1883, Ida Schenck
(she married secondly, Monsieur Castantini)

MARGARET IRELAND

WASHINGTON
(*b.* 22nd February, 1856, *d.* 14th May, 1860)

EDWARD MORTIMER
(*b.* 27th August, 1858, *d.* 3rd October, 1887, unmarried)

LOUIS EARLE
(*b.* 15th September, 1860)
m. (1st) 25th April, 1884, Sadie Schenck (*d.* 1891)
m. (2nd) Mathilde, daughter of Baron G. de Mayendorff, of Courland
Issue by first wife:

LOUIS EARLE
(*b.* 14th December, 1885)

CUTHBERT MORTIMER
(*b.* 16th April, 1890)

ENID SHIRLEY

SADIE

ELOISA
m., 7th March, 1889, Hermann Lanvers

WILLIAM EDWARD
(*b.* 20th September 1857)

ALEXANDER CLINTON
(*b.* 24th September, 1839)
m. 22nd January, 1895, Katherine Rutgers Bacon

THOMAS AUGUSTUS
(*b.* 30th June, 1862)

DEXTER BRADFORD
(*b.* 25th April, 1864, *d.* 8th March, 1904)

PELHAM CLINTON
(*b.* 21st December, 1895)

HIGHTON BACON
(*b.* 19th November, 1900)

MADELEINE RUTGERS

KATHERINE LESLOCK

CHAPTER VI

THE WILMERDINGS IN AMERICA—HENRY AUGUSTUS

HENRY AUGUSTUS, the second surviving son of Christian William Wilmerding by Catherine von Falkenhahn, was born in New York, 27th June, 1802. As quite a young man he went into business in Moscow, New York, about the year 1822, and afterwards took his younger brother, Theodore Charles (born in 1805), into partnership. The latter (who had married Miss Catherine Ripley, by whom he had no issue) died 9th April, 1829. Henry Augustus, however, continued in business at Moscow, and married there, in May, 1829, Miss Nancy Clute, by whom he had four children. She died 29th March, 1845, and was buried at Moscow.

In 1847 Mr. Wilmerding married secondly Harriette Elizabeth Kellogg, who was born at Oyster Bay, Long Island, 15th April, 1823. She was the daughter of Dr. Lucius Kellogg, by Harriet Whitney.

Three years later Mr. Wilmerding returned to New York City, where he founded the firm of Wilmerding, Hoguet, & Humbart, which afterwards became Wilmerding, Hoguet & Co., and which is now represented by the firm of Wilmerding, Morris, & Mitchell.

Mr. Wilmerding, who was a Major on the staff of Governor De Witt Clinton, and a Member of the New York Historical Society, died 3rd February, 1870, and was buried in Trinity Cemetery, New York.

"He was a member of Christ P. E. Church, and was noted for his quiet acts of charity. He was very enterprising in business, of unquestioned integrity, and a very affable and pleasant gentleman."[1]

Brief though these words of tribute to his memory, they could scarcely do any business man more honour, or do Mr. Wilmerding's character less justice.

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[1] *New York World*, 5th February, 1870.

By his first marriage he had three sons, William, Jellis Clute, and Henry Augustus, who all died unmarried, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who married the Rev. John William Payne, and died in Ithaca, New York, 11th February, 1870—a week after her father's death—leaving an only child, Henry Wilmerding Payne. The second son, Jellis Clute Wilmerding, born at Moscow 28th April, 1833, was educated at Temple Hill Academy, in Geneseo, New York. He, in 1849, when scarcely sixteen years old, with his cousins Edward and Felix Tracy, chartered a schooner, the *Samuel M. Fox*, and sailed from New York to San Francisco, California, via Cape Horn. They reached "The Golden Gate" on 21st September, 1849, and, having put up their tent, commenced business at a spot on the beach which is about the present site of the Bank of California. From that time onward Wilmerding was actively engaged in business in California until the date of his death. He was one of the most influential and respected citizens of San Francisco, and left not only a considerable fortune to his relatives, but also the following munificent public bequests:[1]

To the Protestant Orphan Asylum, San Francisco -	$10,000
To St. Luke's Hospital, San Francisco - - -	$10,000
To the Hospital for Children, San Francisco -	$10,000
To the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association -	$10,000
To the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	$5,000
To the Trustees of the Cemetery in the village of Moscow, N.Y., to be used in improving and caring for the said Cemetery, particularly the burial place of his mother, the income of -	$10,000
To the Regents of the University of California to establish and maintain a school, to be called "The Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts," to teach Boys trades, fitting them to make a living with their hands—the sum of - -	$400,000

In announcing the opening of the Wilmerding School, on 8th January, 1900, the *San Francisco Call* said:

"Without any fuss or feathers, and in perfect keeping with the practical ideas of its founder, the Wilmerding School of Industrial

[1] His public bequests alone amounted to over £90,000.

Arts will be formally opened to-day. It is expected that the school will start with at least a hundred ambitious youths who have determined '*to make a living with their hands with little study and plenty of work.*' No speechmaking or music will mark the beginning of practical work in the institution. When time is called Monday morning, the pupils will be sent to work as though the school had been in existence for years.

"Everything is in readiness. The forges in the big blacksmith's shop are ready for the fires; the pressing of the button which will start the electric motor will set in motion the machinery in the cabinet-making and carpentry departments, and a corps of competent instructors will be on hand in every section of the school prepared to do its best, with a firm intention of making records. Those who start in the school on Monday will commence a five months' preliminary course. This will include a thorough polishing in the practical studies, such as arithmetic, history, English, etc., and a smattering of all the industrial trades that are to be taught. The idea of the latter part of the plan is to place the boy in a position, at the end of the manual training course, to select the trade to which he will be best adapted, and consequently of which he can make the most success through life. When this period is passed the pupil will be trained in the particular trade he essays to follow.

"Everything is to be conducted on a practical basis. Theoretical work is to be tabooed as far as possible. The articles to be made are to be '*real things.*' In the blacksmith's shop real wagons are to be mended and real horse-shoes are to be made. Much of the interior fitting of the school is to be completed by the pupils in the cabinet-making department. In the section where it is calculated to turn out full-fledged carpenters, the boys will be given a practical education in that trade by building a real dwelling. Not alone will they do the carpentry work, but they will be required to draw the plans and the details, compile the specifications, and figure the cost. This dwelling will be torn down when completed, and as much of the material as possible used for other work.

"The school is a branch of the University of California and was created through the great generosity of the late J. C. Wilmerding.

"While everything is to be free to the pupil, it should not be considered a charity proposition any more so than the public schools. The instructors have been selected with a view to securing masters at their respective trades or professions, and include some who are considered to be the best workmen in the country."

The unostentatious manner in which this institution was opened, was, as stated, thoroughly in accord with the simple views of its founder; who thus, maintaining the traditions of his family, has

caused the name of Wilmerding to be associated with philanthropy in San Francisco, even as the many generous acts of his uncle, William Wilmerding, have caused that gentleman's memory to be esteemed in New York, no less than the charitable bequests of his ancestors have caused the name to be remembered in Brunswick.

The Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts is now in successful operation, and its practical utility and growing success are typical of its founder's success in life. J. Clute Wilmerding died at San Francisco, 20th February, 1894, and was buried in the Wilmerding family burial ground, in Trinity Cemetery, New York.

His father—Henry Augustus Wilmerding—had, by his second wife, Harriette Kellogg (who survived uniil 4th April, 1901), six children, namely:

1. Lucius Kellogg Wilmerding, M.A. Columbia College, where he received the "Goodwood Cup," 1867. He is a Trustee of the Washington Trust Co., and of the Greenwich Savings Bank, and was Governor of the Union Club, New York, from 1889 to 1892, and President of the Merchants' Club from 1892 to 1893. He married Caroline Murray, by whom he has a son, Lucius, and a daughter, Caroline, both of whom are married.

2. John Currie Wilmerding, who married Mary Elbert, and has four children, Henry Augustus, Elbert Falkenhahn, Robert, and Janet.[1]

3. Harriet Whitney Wilmerding, who married Edward R. Biddle, and has a son, Henry Wilmerding Biddle, and three daughters, Harriet Louise, Christine, and Edna.[2]

4. Mary Nowlan Wilmerding.

5. Louise Canning Wilmerding.

And 6. Helen Augusta Wilmerding, who married Edward Bell, and has two sons, Edward, and Harold Wilmerding Bell.[2]

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[1] See "Wilmerding" Genealogy.

[2] See Genealogical Table, "Descendants of Henry Augustus Wilmerding."

beth KELLOGG

WHITNEY
mber, 1871,
BIDDLE

MARY NOWLEN

HENRY WILMERDING
b. 22nd October, 1872)

HARRIET LOUISE
(b.
d.

Horst). He had a son, who is supposed to have died in childhood.

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[1] See "Wilmerding" Genealogy.

[2] See Genealogical Table, "Descendants of Henry Augustus Wilmerding."

THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY AUGUSTUS WILMERDING

(SON OF CHRISTIAN WILLIAM WILMERDING, AND CATHERINE VON FALKENHAHN)

He was born 27th June, 1802, and died 3rd February, 1870

married

(1st) 6th May, 1829, NORLY B CLUTE (d. 29th March, 1845)

(2nd) 14th May, 1847, Harriette Elizabeth Kellogg (d. 4th April, 1901)

JULIA CLUTE
(b. 30th April, 1832; d. 30th November, 1904; unmarried)

HENRY AUGUSTUS
(b. 30th April, 1832; d. 29th November, 1904; unmarried)

ELIZABETH
(b. 6th August, 1839; m. 13th February, 1870; d. 19th January, 1897; the Rev. John William Payne)

LUCIUS KELLOGG
(b. 19th March, 1848; m. 7th December, 1870, Caroline, daughter of Brinton Murray)

JOHN CURBIE
(b. 22nd October, 1851; m. 14th June, 1874, Mary B. Elbert)

HARRIETT WHITNEY
m. 21st November, 1871, Edward R. Biddle

MARY NOWLEN

LOUISE CANNING

HELEN AUGUSTA
m. 1st March, 1881, Edward [illegible], who died 7th July, 1902

LUCIUS
(b. 13th January, 1880; m. 27th March, 1903, Helen, daughter of R. F. Cutting)

ESTHER MURRAY
(b. 14th April, 1878; d. 30th January, 1881)

CAROLINE MURRAY
m. 25th June, 1906, John B. ud Towson

HENRY AUGUSTUS
(b. 19th June, 1877; m. 2nd August, 1905, Magdalene, daughter of David Richmond)

ELBERT FALKENBURG
of the U.S. Navy
(b. 30th June, 1878; m. 7th June, 1905, Helen Louise, daughter of Charles G. Barber)

ROBERT
(b. 15th December, 1880)

JANET

HENRY WILMERDING
(b. 22nd October, 1873)

HARRIET LOUISE

MARY
(b. 18th October, 1876; d. 14th August, 1877)

CHRISTINE

EDNA

EDWARD
(b. 9th August, 1882; m. 22nd June, 1904, Gertrude Mayo, daughter of Henry Duncan Wood)

HAROLD WILMERDING
(b. 23rd December, 1885)

[illegible]
(b. 23rd January, 1906)

EDITH

HENRY AUGUSTUS
(b. 12 May, 1906)

DOROTHY ELBERT

HELEN BARBER

[1] See "Wilmerding" Genealogy.
[2] See Genealogical Table, "Descendants of Henry Augustus Wilmerding."

CHAPTER VII

THE WILMERDINGS OF FLENSBURG

THE youngest branch of the Wilmerdings was that from which Rudolph Henneberg, the famous painter, was derived. Charles Augustus Wilmerding, youngest son of John Christopher Wilmerding by Christine Elizabeth Tho der Horst, was born in Brunswick 25th February, 1771. He was the younger brother of Christian William Wilmerding, who went to America, and who, having married Catherine von Falkenhahn, founded the family of Wilmerding in New York. In 1790 Charles Augustus was Godfather (by proxy) to his niece, Augusta Catherine,[1] born in New York, as appears from the entry in his brother's Bible. He became a merchant in Brunswick, and succeeded his father in the business which had been founded in 1698 by his grandfather, William Wilmerding.

Charles Augustus married Johanna Juliana Magdalena von der Heide, and died in Brunswick, 12th May, 1805, having had three daughters and a son, John Christopher Wilmerding, of Flensburg, a prosperous merchant, who married Catherine Maria Christiansen of Flensburg, by whom he had two daughters, and on his death this branch of the family is supposed to have terminated in the male line.[2] He does not appear to have succeeded his father, Charles Augustus, in the old Wilmerding firm at Brunswick, for the latter was followed in the business house by Frederick Bernhard Charles Becker.

Of the three sisters of John Christopher Wilmerding, of Flensburg—daughters of Charles Augustus—the eldest, named Catherine Augusta, married Frederick Bernhard Charles Becker, under whose name the business was henceforward carried on, and it was thus

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[1] She died in childhood.

[2] John Christopher Wilmerding, of Flensburg, inherited a gold ring engraved with the Wilmerding Arms from his grandmother, Christine Elizabeth (Tho der Horst). He had a son, who is supposed to have died in childhood.

called the firm of F. B. C. Becker, when, on 22nd August, 1898, it celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of its foundation by Mrs. Becker's ancestor, William Wilmerding.

The two younger sisters of Mrs. Becker were named Henrietta and Julia. The latter—known as the "Lily of Brunswick" on account of her beauty—married Herr Henneberg, Hereditary Grand Chamberlain to the Duke of Brunswick. This gentleman, in his later years, had many interesting reminiscences not only of past generations of his wife's family, the Wilmerdings, but also of many historical personages and incidents with which he had been brought in contact. As aide-de-camp he had been in attendance on his Prince at the Duchess of Richmond's famous ball on the eve of the Battle of Waterloo, and his recollections of the events of that period were the delight of his hearers in later years. By Julia Wilmerding he had a daughter, Minna, and a son, Rudolph Frederick Henneberg, the well-known painter, both of whom died unmarried at the old Wilmerding country seat, near Brunswick, which they had purchased.

Rudolph Henneberg was born in Brunswick in 1825, and was a Member of the Berlin Academy, etc. One of his most famous paintings—"The Pursuit of Fortune"—was bought by the German Government, and now hangs in the National Gallery, in Berlin.[1] In this picture he painted (*unknown to them*) the portraits of two of his cousins, and depicted himself as the reckless rider who, urged on by the Devil at his elbow, gallops ruthlessly over the prostrate form of his lady love, in the pursuit of Fortune, who lures him on with her smile and glittering gold.

Many of Henneberg's sketches and studies are also preserved in the National Gallery in Berlin.

Another of his pictures, entitled "The Wild Huntsman,"[2] is illustrative of a ballad by Bürger, founded on an old German legend, according to which the Spirit of War, in the form of a huntsman rides furiously through the land on the outbreak of war.

After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Henneberg painted a picture, of less note than some of his other works, in which he displayed the sentiments of most Germans at that time. This picture

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[1] "*Die Jagd nach dem Glück.*"

[2] "*Der Wilde Jaeger.*"

"The Pursuit of Fortune"

By R. F. Henneberg

represents a Prussian cavalry soldier turning in his saddle with a look of contemptuous amusement, as he watches three Frenchmen, evidently the worse for their potations, who, with their arms linked, are walking down a village street and singing vain-gloriously.

Henneberg died at his home—the Wilmerding country house, near Brunswick—in the fifty-first year of his age, in 1876, and his sister, Minna, survived him some years, and also died there unmarried.

Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst,
His Wife, and Family

The People of the State of New-York,

To all to whom these Presents shall come:

KNOW YE, *That pursuant to the Constitution and Laws of our said State,* **WE** *have appointed and constituted, and by these Presents,* **DO** *appoint and constitute* Samuel Bradhurst Onsign &c. *the* 62nd *Regiment of* Infantry *of our said State, (with rank from* July 23 1828 *)* **To hold** *the said Office in the manner specified in and by our said Constitution and Laws.*

In Testimony whereof, *We have caused our Seal for Military Commissions to be hereunto affixed: Witness* **NATHANIEL PITCHER,** *Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of our said State, administering the government thereof, General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same, at our City of Albany, the* 11th *day of* August *in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight.*

Passed the Adjutant-General's Office.

A. C. Block. ***Adjutant-General.***

Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst's Commission, 1828

SAMUEL STILLWELL BRADHURST, HIS WIFE, AND FAMILY

SAMUEL STILLWELL BRADHURST, the second, but eldest surviving son of John Maunsell Bradhurst by Elizabeth Wilmerding, was born in New York 19th September, 1810, and was baptised in the German Lutheran Church. Four years later his elder brother, also named Samuel, died at the age of seven, and from that time Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst was always called by his first name, and when he grew up he dropped the name of Stillwell entirely, considering, as he said, that a name which recalled his descent from a Regicide was not one to be proud of.

With the examples of his grandfather's services during the Revolution, and of his father's distinction with "Bradhurst's Regulars" during the war of 1812, it was but natural that Samuel Bradhurst should join the 82nd Regiment of Infantry at an early age, and his commission as Ensign is dated 1828.

He married Mary, younger daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Cornell Pearsall by Frances, daughter of Thomas Buchanan.

The latter was descended from the ancient Scottish house of Buchanan of Buchanan of that ilk, of which Burke says that it was "*a family of great antiquity in the Shire of Stirling, Macoum de Boquhanan, chief of the clan, being recorded in Ragman's Roll as one of those who swore fealty to Edward in 1296. John, the 22nd Laird, sold the estate of Buchanan to the Marquess of Montrose in 1680, and died in two years after, without male issue.*"

It was a goodly long line which could boast of twenty-two Lairds in succession—the last of whom died in 1682! The several families of Buchanan now existing claim descent from the younger sons of those Lairds of former times. Alan Buchanan, second son of Gilbert, the 8th Laird of Buchanan, married Margaret of Lenny, an heiress, and received from King Alexander II. of Scotland a charter, dated 5th October, 1227, according to which Alan Buchanan held his wife's

estate of Lenny "*by virtue of a small sword which King Culen (about the years 965-70) gave as a symbol to Gillespie Moir, her ancestor, for his particular service.*"

From Thomas Buchanan, third son of Sir Walter Buchanan, the 13th Laird, the families of Buchanan of Ardoch and Gray-Buchanan of Scotstown are derived; and from the marriage of Janet Buchanan, heiress of Lenny, with her cousin John, the 12th Laird of Buchanan, in the Fifteenth century, the families of Buchanan of Powis, and Buchanan of Glasgow are descended. The last-mentioned branch is is now represented by the Buchanans of Drumpellier House, the Buchanans of Auchintorlie, and the Buchanans in Jamaica, New Zealand, and Newfoundland. Their ancestor, George Buchanan, a merchant and magistrate of Glasgow, was the son of Andrew Buchanan, who purchased Gartacharan from Lord Napier, whose father Alexander, was the son of Walter of Glenny, whose father, Alexander Buchanan, was fifth in descent from John Buchanan of Leny,[1] third son of John, 12th Laird of Buchanan, in the Fifteenth century, who married his cousin, Janet Buchanan of Leny, daughter and heiress of John Buchanan of Lenny, who was the third in descent from Alan Buchanan to whom King Alexander II. granted the charter in 1227.

The immediate forefather of Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst was Thomas Buchanan, who was born in Glasgow, and who at the age of nineteen came to New York, where he became one of the most noted and successful merchants of his day. In 1770 he was one of a Committee of ten who obtained through the Lieutenant-Governor (Colden) of New York a charter from the Crown for the Chamber of Commerce. He filled many public offices of responsibility and commercial trust, and in 1775 he was one of a Committee of one hundred formed for the safety of New York City, and was at the head of one of the largest shipping houses there. He married in 1776 Almy Townsend, but as a Scotchman by birth, he refrained from taking an active part on the outbreak of the Revolution, and was one of the "loyal signatories" to General Lord Howe in September, 1776. Mr. Buchanan amassed a large fortune, and liberally supported many institutions and charities in the city of his adoption, while his equally successful kinsmen at home were the original promoters of the Buchanan Society in Glasgow. He died in

[1] Sometimes, *Lenny*.

1815 at his residence in Wall Street (the site of which is now occupied by the New York Custom House), and his descendants in New York include, beside the late Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst and her family, the families of Gerry, Goelet, and Gilford, and the late Buchanan Winthrop.[1]

By Almy, daughter of Jacob Townsend of Oyster Bay, Long Island, Mr. Buchanan had a daughter, Frances, who married Thomas Cornell Pearsall (whose mother was a Cornell).[2] Two of the children of this marriage, the late Edward Pearsall and the late Miss Phœbe Pearsall, died unmarried; and Mary Pearsall, the younger daughter, married Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst, and died his widow 11th December, 1885, aged seventy. Mr. Bradhurst, who was handsome, popular, large-hearted, and generous, had been an Alderman for New York City, and predeceased his wife the 22nd of February, 1861. By Mary Pearsall he left seven children:

1. JOHN MAUNSELL BRADHURST (named after his grandfather), who died in 1867 unmarried at the age of thirty.[3]

2. CHARLES CORNELL BRADHURST, born at Pinehurst 14th April, 1840; married 10th June, 1863, Catherine Amelia Ten Broeck Rodwell (who died 16th January, 1898), daughter, by Elizabeth Garthwaite, of A. M. Rodwell, son of Richard Rodwell by Elizabeth Mamby. The family of Garthwaite is well known in New Jersey, and is derived from William Garthwaite who migrated from Yorkshire in 1695; his wife was Anne, daughter of Maximilian Laubon, in France. Their son, Henry, held office by appointment from the Crown, under the original charter for the "*Borough of Elizabethtown*" (now called Elizabeth), in New Jersey, in 1739. By this marriage Mr. C. C. Bradhurst had two children:

(1) *Henry Maunsell Bradhurst*, born 26th June, 1864; married, 17th December, 1889, Jean Ellett, only daughter of Benjamin Franklin Bonham, of Philadelphia, son of Jonathan

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[1] Burke's *Landed Gentry*, and Letter from Mrs. Lahens to A. M. Bradhurst, dated 13th February, 1901.

[2] The Cornell and Sands families had also intermarried.—Bolton's *History of Westchester*, Vol. I., p. 715.

[3] Refer to the "Bradhurst" Genealogy.

Bonham by Esther Worthington. (Mrs. H. M. Bradhurst is descended, through her maternal grandfather, Constantine Somers, from the Lieutenant Somers of Tripoli fame.) By this marriage Mr. H. M. Bradhurst has no surviving issue.

(2) *Elizabeth Rodwell Bradhurst*, married, 5th May, 1900, Thomas Henry Randall. They died leaving no issue.

3. THOMAS CORNELL PEARSALL BRADHURST, who died without issue in his forty-second year, 27th March, 1889.

4. FRANCES PEARSALL BRADHURST, who was adopted by her grandfather, John Maunsell Bradhurst, of Pinehurst. She married, 16th March, 1854, the late M. Augustus Field,[1] and had issue eight children :

(1) *William Augustus Field*, who died aged ten years, 15th September, 1866.

(2) *Edward Pearsall Field*, who married, 15th October, 1879, Annie, daughter of John Lawrence Townsend, and died in 1882, leaving by her (who married secondly the late Eugene Maurice Coles) an only son, Edward Pearsall Field, born 24th May, 1880. He married and has a daughter named Kathryn Pearsall Field.

(3) *Clinton Osgood Field*, who died unmarried 11th April, 1884, in his twenty-fifth year.

(4) *Maunsell Bradhurst Field*, born 21st November, 1862; married, 15th October, 1888, Ella Elizabeth, daughter of Henry S. Billinge, of Lakeside, Lake Mohegan, N.Y., by whom he has no issue. Her ancestor, Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, London, was a cousin of the poet Cowper,[2] and was also the same

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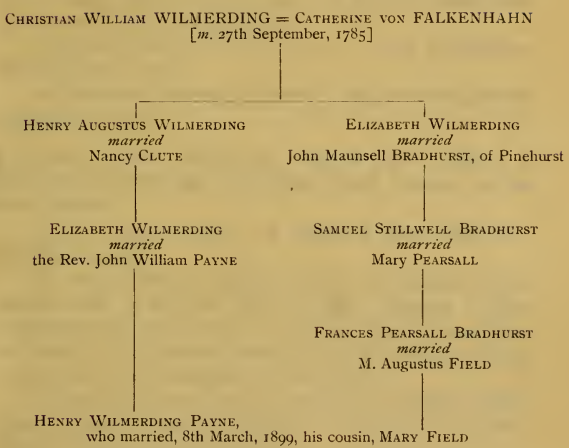
[1] Mr. M. A. Field was a nephew of Josiah Field, of the old firm of Bradhurst and Field; he was also a nephew of H. W. Field, Senior, who married a sister of John Maunsell Bradhurst, of Pinehurst; and a cousin of H. W. Field, Junior, whose wife was the daughter of John Maunsell Bradhurst, of Pinehurst.

[2] William Cowper, the Poet (born 1731, and died unmarried in 1800), was the son of the Rev. John Cowper, D.D., Chaplain to George II., by Anne, only daughter of Roger Donne, of Ludham Hall. It is interesting to note that the poet did not pronounce his name as it is spelt, but, like his cousin, Earl Cowper, always pronounced it *Cooper*. On this point Dean Alford, in his work on *The Queen's English*,

Frances Pearsall Bradhurst,
Wife of Augustus Field

A WILMERDING INTERMARRIAGE



Dr. Donne whose reminiscences of Richard Hooker are quoted by the latter's biographer, Isaac Walton. Hooker, it will be remembered, was the protégé of Archbishop Sandys, and tutor at Oxford to Sir Edwin Sandys.[1]

(5) *Augustus Bradhurst Field*, born 6th February, 1866; married, 5th January, 1898, Lillie, daughter of Augustus Graham, and has issue: Augustus Bradhurst Field, born 6th January, 1900; Malcolm Graham Field, born 7th June, 1904; and Frances Pearsall Field.

(6) *Thomas Pearsall Field*, born 31st July, 1868; married, 15th October, 1893, Emma, daughter of Alfred N. Beadleston, and has issue: Mary Osgood Field.

(7) *Frances Pearsall Field*, who died in her twelfth year, 16th September, 1866.

(8) *Mary Field*, married, 8th March, 1899, her cousin, Henry Wilmerding Payne.

5. Phœbe Pearsall Bradhurst, born at "The Cottage," at Pinehurst; married, 19th May, 1864, Alfred Emile Lahéns, and has issue four children:

(1) *Louis Emile Lahéns*, 7th Regiment, New York, born 26th January, 1865.

(2) *Pierre Pearsall Lahéns*, born 12th January, 1872; married, 25th April, 1900, Elinor Vernon, daughter of John Henry Boynton, and has two sons: Pierre Pearsall Lahéns, born 20th March, 1901; Charles Edward Boynton Lahéns, born 28th August, 1906; and a daughter, Vernon Lahéns.

(3) *Frances Pearsall Lahéns*, married, 24th February, 1892, Colonel Albert Lawrence Wetherill, of Philadelphia, and has a daughter, Maria Lawrence Wetherill.

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quotes Dr. Goddard Rogers, who says: "Cowper not only decided the matter by making his name rhyme with *trooper;* but in conversation always begged his friends to call him *Cooper*. I have this from a very old gentleman. . . . He was Thomas Palmer Bull, son of Cowper's friend 'Smoke-inhaling Bull,' and had himself heard the poet make the remark."

[1] See *Sandys*, p. 178.

(4) *Mary Augusta Lahéns*, married, 25th April, 1905, De Witt Clinton Falls, 7th Regiment, N.Y.

6. Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst, married, 20th April, 1865, Charles Augustus Jackson,[1] and has had issue three children:

(1) *Charles Temple Jackson*, born 1st May, 1867; married, 19th November, 1890, Alice Maud, daughter of George F. Bradbury, by whom he left, at his decease, 12th January, 1902, a daughter, Helen Bradhurst Jackson.

(2) *Pearsall Bradhurst Jackson*, 7th Regiment, New York, born 24th June, 1874.

(3) *Helen Jackson*, married, 12th November, 1902, Robert Struthers.

7. Augusta Currie Bradhurst, married, 15th October, 1863, William Hazard Field[2] (who died 3rd February, 1888), and has issue:

(1) *William Bradhurst Osgood Field*, born 16th September, 1870, who, as heir to his uncle, the late Osgood Field, has assumed the additional surname of Osgood. He married, 8th July, 1902, Lila Vanderbilt, daughter of William Douglas Sloane, and has two sons.

(2) *Mary Pearsall Field.*

The above marriage of the youngest daughter of Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst was the fourth such tie which joined together the names of Bradhurst and Field—names which, in the very earliest days of American Independence, had been honourably united in business, and bound by a friendship and mutual esteem, which these subsequent intermarriages have cemented and ripened into lasting affection.

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[1] His ancestress, Esther or Hester (Sandys), a niece of Archbishop Sandys, was the famous Lady Temple, of Stowe, mentioned by Fuller in his *Worthies of England* as having lived to see seven hundred of her descendants.

[2] He was a younger brother of Augustus Field, who had married the eldest daughter of Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst. They were sons of Moses Field by his wife Susan, daughter of Samuel Osgood, Postmaster-General, etc., whose wife, Hannah Bowne, was the widow of Walter Franklin, after whom Franklin Square, in New York, is named. Mrs. Moses Field's sister, Martha Osgood, married a brother of Genet, the famous minister from the French Republic; and two of their step-sisters, Maria and Hannah Franklin, married the brothers De Witt and George Clinton.

A SANDYS INTERMARRIAGE

George SANDYS, of Esthwaite, Lancaster, Receiver General for the Liberties of Furness = Margaret, daughter of John DIXON, of London

Edwin Sandys, the famous Archbishop of York, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He married twice, and left numerous descendants of whom

Capt. James Sands or Sandys of Block Island Born in England in 1622 = Sarah Walker

Samuel Sands = Dorothy Ray

Mercy Sands = Richard Stillwell

Deborah Stillwell = Capt. Richard Smith

Mary Smith = Samuel Bradhurst

John Maunsell Bradhurst = Elizabeth Wilmerding

Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst = Mary Pearsall

Myles Sandys of Latimers, Buckinghamshire = Hester Clifton

Hester Sandys = Sir Thomas Temple, Bart., of Stowe, created a Bart. in 1611

Sir John Temple of Stanton Bury = Dorothy Lee dau. of Edmund Lee, of Stanton Bury

Mary Temple = Robert Nelson of Gray's Inn

John Nelson Went to America = Elizabeth Tailer dau. of Lieut.-Gov. Tailer, of Dorchester, near Boston

Mehetabel Nelson = Robert Temple, of Boston, descended from a younger son of the 1st Bart.

Sir John Temple Consul-General to the United States, who succeeded as 8th Bart.

Elizabeth Nelson = Nathaniel Hubbard

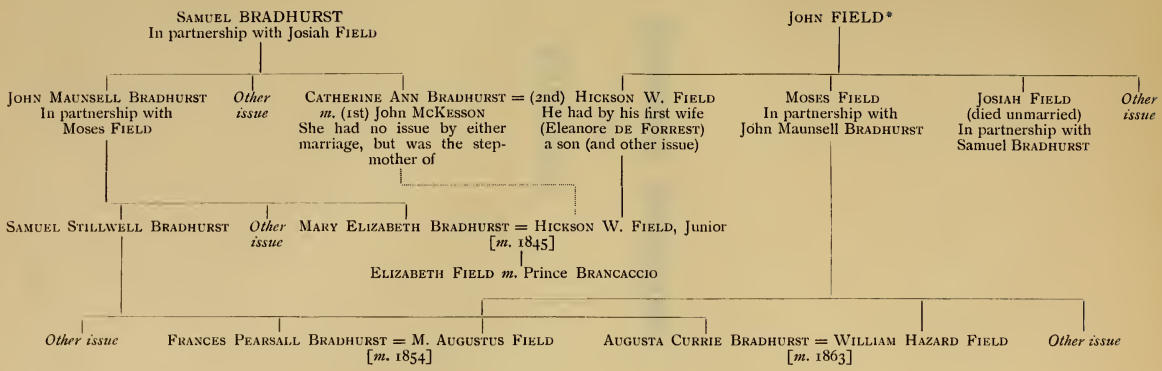
Mary Hubbard = Capt. Thomas Sanders

Elizabeth Sanders = Peter McCarty

Helen McCarty = William A. Jackson

Mary Elizabeth Bradhurst = Charles Augustus Jackson
[*m.* 20th April, 1865]

BRADHURST AND FIELD INTERMARRIAGES



* The sons of John Field are not placed according to their ages, in order to simplify the explanation of the intermarriages; for the same reason the "other issue" are omitted here. Josiah Field was the eldest of the three brothers mentioned above, and Hickson was the youngest.

Henry Maunsell Bradhurst,

of

Pinehurst

HENRY MAUNSELL BRADHURST, OF PINEHURST

RECOLLECTIONS OF PINEHURST

HENRY MAUNSELL BRADHURST, of Pinehurst, the youngest son of John Maunsell Bradhurst by Elizabeth Wilmerding, was born in New York 13th May, 1822, and succeeded to that estate in 1858, on the death of his mother, who, in accordance with her husband's Will, held it for life. Of Mr. Bradhurst's two brothers, Samuel, the elder, had been otherwise provided for; and William, the second—a confirmed invalid—predeceased his mother unmarried; indeed, he only survived his father (who died in 1855) a few weeks. Thus it was that Henry, the youngest son, became possessed of the family home; he also inherited a share of his father's other properties, of which considerable portions had been settled on his brothers, Samuel and William, and on his sister, Mrs. Field, and their heirs. During his parents' life-time, Henry Bradhurst acted as their agent in the management of the estates, and under his care the gardens of Pinehurst lost nothing of their fame, for there—within twelve miles of the heart of the city—bloomed in luxuriance the rarest and choicest of shrubs and flowers, many of which had been sent home by William Bradhurst from various countries during his years of travel. Among the neighbours at Pinehurst were two most interesting although widely different persons, into whose society Henry Bradhurst was frequently thrown in his youth, and of whom he retained many recollections. These persons were Audubon—the great painter of the birds and animals of North America—and that celebrity, Madame Jumel. How Henry Bradhurst narrowly escaped with his life from the former has already been told,[1] and as to the latter, the details of her strange career belong to the history

[1] See p. 260.

when the fallen Emperor had contemplated flight on that faithful banker's frigate. It was on the occasion of such visits that Henry Bradhurst would be shown into a darkened room, from the ceiling of which strange waxen figures were suspended by wires; and if, unwarily, his head came in contact with them, his weird hostess would exclaim in an awed tone:

"Don't disturb the spirits! Be careful, Henry, or you will displease them!"

Henry Maunsell Bradhurst spent much of his boyhood and early youth at the home of his mother's sister, Mrs. Felix Tracy, and was thus constantly in the companionship of his Tracy cousins, consisting of three brothers and one sister, Elizabeth. She married Mr. Russell George Noyes, by whom she had two little girls. After her marriage and departure from home, the letters which Henry Bradhurst wrote to her father continually asked for news of her; even the business letters, which he wrote for his own father to her's, almost invariably contained a postscript from himself—pathetic in the light of after years—with some message or allusion to her. Mr. Noyes died in California, and finally Henry Bradhurst married his widowed cousin, 30th September, 1857. She was his mother's namesake as well as her niece, being the only daughter of Felix Tracy by Henrietta Wilmerding, a sister of Mrs. John Maunsell Bradhurst, and second daughter of Christian William Wilmerding.

Mr. Felix Tracy was one of a large family, whose forefather settled in New England in 1636. The Tracys of New England are derived from Sir Richard Tracy, Knt., of Stanway, near Tewkesbury, in Worcestershire, who was a younger son of Sir William Tracy, Knt., of Toddington, in Gloucestershire[1]—a seat which had been in the possession of the family since the reign of Edward the Confessor, and which had continued with them in the male line until the death of the 8th and last Viscount Tracy in 1797, when Toddington passed to his daughter and her descendants, with whom it remained until the close of the Nineteenth century—well-nigh nine hundred years from the date of its bestowal on their ancestor!

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[1] Sir Richard's elder brother, William Tracy, of Toddington, was great-grandfather of the 1st Viscount Tracy.

"PINEHURST"

As it appeared in its changed condition, shortly before it was demolished, on the opening of new streets

Before terminating these pages with a final reference to the closing years of Henry Maunsell Bradhurst and his wife, we must give some account of the long and distinguished line of progenitors from which she was derived.

The Tracy Family

THE TRACY FAMILY

CHAPTER I

DE VEXIN

THIS ancient and knightly family claims an unbroken male descent from Waleran, or Garnier, who succeeded Hugh the Great, Duke of France, as Count of Vexin, in 956.

According to some accounts, this Waleran is stated to have received the Countship "through the favour of Richard, Duke of Normandy";[1] but, be that as it may, it does not appear to have actually formed part of that Duchy until the following century, when Henry I. of France "added Vexin to the territories of Normandy."[2] Count Waleran died in 965, leaving by his wife Hildegarde, heiress of Amiens and of Crépé in Valois, a son, Gauthier (Walter), who succeeded as Count both of Vexin[3] and Valois. This son gave the village of Mericourt (?) to an abbey on condition of its furnishing lights for his funeral. By Eve, daughter of Landon, Count of Dreux, he had five sons. The eldest of these, another Gauthier, received a "fine book" given to him by some monks, in return for which he exempted their boats from all toll on the Seine below Mantes.[4] He is supposed to have been the founder of the Castles of Mantes and Crépé. He married Adéle, co-heiress of Senlis, and died in 1027, the eldest of his five sons being Walter de Mantes. But before proceeding with this line, let us turn to consider all that is conjured up by the mention of Senlis in connection with another ancestress of the Tracys.

A few years after the death of Gauthier, Count of Vexin, and of his

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[1] MS. Pedigree.

[2] Parley's *Second Book of History*, chapter lxxiii., published 1855.

[3] Sometimes spelt "Vixin."

[4] He was styled "Avoni (?) de St. Dennis."

wife, Adéle de Senlis, the Castle of Senlis became the scene of a royal romance. Thither Anne of Russia, Queen Consort of Henry I. of France, retired during her early widowhood. It was in the latter half of the Eleventh century; and, at that time, the direct ancestor of the Tracys was Harold de Mantes *alias* De Sudeley, a grandson of Count Gauthier, whilst the Counties of Crépé and Valois were held by Raoul, his haughty kinsman. Anne is the only Russian who ever became Queen of France. She was renowned alike for her charms, her great beauty, and her dowry of gold ingots. Of her three sons, Philip succeeded to the throne of France; and Hugh, surnamed "Magnus," was Count of Vermandois, and an ancestor (indirectly) of the Tracys. This beautiful Princess was the daughter of Jaroslaus, or Yaroslaf, Grand Duke of Russia, and she was married to the King of France in the Cathedral of Rheims in 1049. After his death she spent much of her time at Senlis in hunting; but she was only thirty-six, and the fame of her beauty brought her many suitors, of whom the most favoured was that powerful noble, Raoul, the great Count of Crépé and Valois, who recognised no authority as superior to his own, and who feared neither the arms of the King, nor the censure of the Church. Unfortunately he had a wife living named Alienor; but so powerful and resolute a Prince did not allow such an obstacle to hinder him. Having satisfied himself that the widowed Queen reciprocated his affection, he carried her off from Senlis by simulated force, and went through the marriage ceremony with her in his capital of Crepy, or Crépé, in Valois. His wife Alienor, however, escaped to Rome, where she obtained an act of excommunication against both Raoul and Anne, and their marriage was declared null and void. These measures had no effect; and until Raoul's death, in 1074, he and the Russian Queen lived happily together. After his death Queen Anne returned to Court, where she was no longer called "Queen," but styled "the King's Mother." Her last years are wrapped in obscurity, some thinking that she returned to Russia, and others that she retired into a convent. The latter view is taken by the Vicomte de Caix de Saint Aymour, who contributed an interesting article to the *Débats* in the autumn of 1896, in anticipation of a more elaborate work on the life of this early Anne of Russia.

From her the Tracys can trace their descent through FIVE

A ROYAL DESCENT

owing how Barbara Lucy, wife of Richard Tracy, of Stanway, was descended from Anne of Russia, Queen of France, through five of her great-grandchildren; to wit, William, 3rd Earl of Warrenne and Surrey; Ada de Warrenne, Princess of Scotland; Elizabeth de Bellomont, Countess of Pembroke; Gundred de Warrenne, Countess of Warwick; and Adeline de Bellomont, wife of Hugh de Montfort.)

Sir William Lucy, of Charlecote

Edward Lucy, of Charlecote

Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote

Barbara Lucy = Richard Tracy, of Stanway

Sir Paul Tracy, Bart., of Stanway

Thomas Tracy (the Emigrant)

Thomas Tracy, of Preston

Jeremiah Tracy, of Lisbon

Andrew Tracy, of Lisbon

Jesse Tracy, of Lisbon

Felix Tracy, of Oramel

Elizabeth Tracy = (2nd) Henry M. Bradhurst, of Pinehurst

wife, Adéle de Senlis, the Castle of Senlis became the scene of a royal romance. Thither Anne of Russia, Queen Consort of Henry I. of France, retired during her early widowhood. It was in the latter half of the Eleventh century; and, at that time, the direct ancestor of the Tracys was Harold de Mantes *alias* De Sudeley, a grandson of Count Gauthier, whilst the Counties of Crépé and Valois were held by Raoul, his haughty kinsman. Anne is the only Russian who ever became Queen of France. She was renowned alike for her charms, her great beauty, and her dowry of gold ingots. Of her three sons, Philip succeeded to the throne of France; and Hugh, surnamed "Magnus," was Count of Vermandois, and an ancestor (indirectly) of the Tracys. This beautiful Princess was the daughter of Jaroslaus, or Yaroslaf, Grand Duke of Russia, and she was married to the King of France in the Cathedral of Rheims in 1049. After his death she spent much of her time at Senlis in hunting; but she was only thirty-six, and the fame of her beauty brought her many suitors, of whom the most favoured was that powerful noble, Raoul, the great Count of Crépé and Valois, who recognised no authority as superior to his own, and who feared neither the arms of the King, nor the censure of the Church. Unfortunately he had a wife living named Alienor; but so powerful and resolute a Prince did not allow such an obstacle to hinder him. Having satisfied himself that the widowed Queen reciprocated his affection, he carried her off from Senlis by simulated force, and went through the marriage ceremony with her in his capital of Crepy, or Crépé, in Valois. His wife Alienor, however, escaped to Rome, where she obtained an act of excommunication against both Raoul and Anne, and their marriage was declared null and void. These measures had no effect; and until Raoul's death, in 1074, he and the Russian Queen lived happily together. After his death Queen Anne returned to Court, where she was no longer called "Queen," but styled "the King's Mother." Her last years are wrapped in obscurity, some thinking that she returned to Russia, and others that she retired into a convent. The latter view is taken by the Vicomte de Caix de Saint Aymour, who contributed an interesting article to the *Débats* in the autumn of 1896, in anticipation of a more elaborate work on the life of this early Anne of Russia.

From her the Tracys can trace their descent through FIVE

ANNE, Grand Duchess of Russia = HENRY I, King of France

Philip, King of France, Ancestor of the House of Bourbon

Hugh "Magnus," Count de Vermandois

Isabel de Vermandois
married
(1st) Robert de Bellomont, Earl of Leicester and Mellent (2nd) William de Warrenne, 2nd Earl of Warrenne and Surrey

1
William de Warrenne,
3rd Earl of Warrenne and Surrey

William de Warrenne,
4th Earl of Warrenne and Surrey

Isabel de Warrenne (heiress)
married
Hameline Plantagenet

Isabel Plantagenet (heiress)
married
Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk

Margery Bigod
married
William de Hastings

Henry de Hastings *married his cousin*, Princess Ada

Henry de Hastings

Henry de Hastings, 1st Lord Hastings, *married his cousin*, Joan de Cantilupe

John, 2nd Lord Hastings

Elizabeth Hastings = Roger de Grey, of Condor

Reginald de Grey

Reginald de Grey, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, *married his cousin*, Joane Astley

2
Ada de Warrenne
married
Henry, Prince of Scotland

William I.,
King of
Scotland

David,
Earl of
Huntingdon

3
Elizabeth de Bellomont
married
Gilbert de Clare,
Earl of Pembroke

Richard de Clare,
Earl of Pembroke

Isabel de Clare (heiress)
married
William Mareschal,
Earl of Pembroke

Eve Mareschal
married
William de Braose,
of Brecknock

Eve de Braose
married
William de Cantilupe,
of Abergavenny

4
Gundred de Warrenne,
married
Roger de Newburgh,
Earl of Warwick

Waleran de Newburgh,
Earl of Warwick

Alice de Newburgh (heiress)
married
William Mauduit,
Lord of Hanslape

Isabel Mauduit (heiress)
married
William de Beauchamp,
of Elmley

William de Beauchamp,
Earl of Warwick

Guy de Beauchamp,
Earl of Warwick

Elizabeth Beauchamp
married
Thomas, 3rd Lord Astley

William de Astley,
4th Lord Astley

5
Adeline de Bellomont
married
Hugh de Montfort

Thurstane de Montfort

Thurstane de Charlecote

Sir Walter de Charlecote

Sir William de Lucy,
of Charlecote

Sir William de Lucy,
of Charlecote

Fouk de Lucy,
of Charlecote

Sir William Lucy,
of Charlecote

Sir William Lucy,
of Charlecote

Thomas Lucy, Esq.,
of Charlecote

Sir William Lucy,
of Charlecote

Sir Thomas Lucy,
of Charlecote

Eleanore de Grey *married her kinsman*, William Lucy, Esq.,
of Charlecote

Sir William Lucy, of Charlecote

Edward Lucy, of Charlecote

Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote

Barbara Lucy = Richard Tracy, of Stanway

Sir Paul Tracy, Bart., of Stanway

Thomas Tracy (the Emigrant)

Thomas Tracy, of Preston

Jeremiah Tracy, of Lisbon

Andrew Tracy, of Lisbon

Jesse Tracy, of Lisbon

Felix Tracy, of Oramel

Elizabeth Tracy = (2nd) Henry M. Bradhurst, of Pinehurst

different channels, (through the families of Lucy, Grey de Ruthyn, Hastings, Astley, Beauchamp, Newburgh, Warenne, and de Bellomont), as may be seen in the accompanying Genealogical Table, showing this "Royal Descent."

CHAPTER II

DE MANTES

WALTER DE MANTES,[1] or de Maunt (the eldest son of Gauthier, Count of Vexin, by Adéle, co-heiress of Senlis), succeeded to numerous territories and castles including the Countships of Vexin and Amiens, and part of Senlis. He styled himself "Count, by the Will only of the King of Heaven." Nevertheless this haughty noble became feudatory to his wife's cousin, Robert, "The Devil," Duke of Normandy; for it appears that Henry I. of France having regained his crown by the assistance of Duke Robert, was so grateful that "in return for the service, he added Vexin to the territories of Normandy."[2] To this arrangement the Count, whatever his reasons, seems to have made no objection. Indeed he and Duke Robert seem to have been congenial spirits; for when the latter—whose more polite surname was "The Magnificent"—made his famous pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Walter de Mantes accompanied him; and it is said that these two great personages displayed "more pomp than piety." They both died by poison, which was administered by their enemies in Bithynia, when on their homeward journey, in June, 1035; and they were buried in the same place.[3] Walter de Mantes had married the Duke's cousin, the Anglo-Saxon Princess Goditha (or Goda), sister of King Edward the Confessor, and daughter of Ethelred II. ("the Unready"), by Emma, his second wife, who was the daughter of Richard I., "Sans Peur," Duke of Normandy; through this marriage their descendants can trace a remote descent from Alfred the Great and the Emperor Charlemagne, and from various historical individuals, and princely houses in ancient times.

The Princess Goda married secondly Eustace of Boulogne, and

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[1] He is usually so called by English historians, although French writers designate him "Dreux, Comte de Mantes."

[2] Parley.

[3] Niel? Ziel? Nice?

died in 1054, possessed of lands in Gloucestershire which had been granted to her by her brother, King Edward the Confessor.

By Walter de Mantes she had four sons; of whom Gauthier, or Walter, the eldest, inherited his father's great fiefs in France; while Rudolph, Raoul, or Ralph, the second son, inherited from his mother the Manors of Sudeley and Toddington, in Gloucestershire. In 1036 he had received from his uncle, Edward the Confessor, the Earldom of Hereford, in England; and, in 1051, he was constituted Admiral of fifty ships of the King's Navy. This great noble—sometimes called "Rudolf de Mantes," and sometimes "Ralf de Mederitinus,"[1] Earl of Hereford—appears to have been as powerful in England as his father and kinsmen were in France. He died 21st December, 1057, and was buried at Peterborough, having married "the Lady Gittia," who held lands in her own right in Buckinghamshire, and who is called in Doomsday Book, "Gethe, wife of Earl Rudolph."

The only son of Earl Rudolph by this lady was Harold de Mantes, the second Earl of Hereford, who succeeded to the manors of Sudeley and Toddington. Before the year 1068 he entered into a conspiracy against William the Conqueror, with Algar, Earl of Leicester, whereupon William, having subdued him, deprived him of the Earldom of Hereford; and he henceforth appears to have been designated from the lordship which he derived from his grandmother, the Saxon Princess Goda, and to have been known as Harold de Sudeley, or "de Sutlie" as Camden wrote it.[2]

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[1] Camden.

[2] Some writers have suggested that he was a son of Harold, the Dane, King of England; but there seems to be but slight foundation for this idea, and much evidence to the contrary. Dugdale and others agree with Camden in asserting that Harold de Sudeley was the son of Rudolph (or Ralph) de Mantes, Earl of Hereford, and that he was deprived of his father's earldom by the Conqueror, as stated above. As the grandson of a Saxon Princess it was not unnatural that he should enter into an anti-Norman conspiracy. Burke, in mentioning him as an ancestor of the Tracys, says (in the *Dormant and Extinct Peerage*) "the ancient family of Tracy boast descent from Saxon ancestors."

CHAPTER III

DE SUDELEY

HAROLD DE SUDELEY, or de Mantes—the ex-Earl of Hereford—was possessed of numerous lordships in England at the time of the General Survey, of which Sudeley was his chief residence, whilst among his other possessions was Toddington, in Gloucestershire; and he also held various lands in the County of Hereford, including the Castle of Ewyas.[1]

Sudeley Manor was in after times succeeded by the historic and stately Castle which yet remains; and of this Leland, in his "Itinerary," remarks: "There had been a Manor place at Sudeley before the building of the Castle, and the platte is yet seen in Sudeley Parke where it stode."

Camden says: "In old times certain noblemen here dwelt, and of it had their addition, DE SUDELEY, descended of a right ancient English race, to wit, from Goda, King Ethelred's daughter, whose son, Ralf de Mederitinus, Earl of Hereford, begat Harold, Lord of Sudeley, whose progeny flourished here for a long time."

Harold de Sudeley married Maud (or Matilda), a daughter of Hugh de Abrincis, Earl of Chester, surnamed "Lupus."[2] (Her

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[1] "At the time of the Conqueror's survey, Harold, son to Ralph, Earl of Hereford (who in King Edward the Confessor's days suffered the Welsh to enter that city and destroy it by fire), being possessed of the Lordship of Bochenton, in Berkshire; Wiche, in Worcestershire; Celverdestoch and Derceton, in Warwickshire; as also of Sudlege and Todintune, in Gloucestershire, had his chief seat at Sudlege; and afterwards obtaining Ewyas, in Herefordshire, founded there a little priory for monks of St. Benedict's order."—Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. I., p. 428.

[2] The daughters of Hugh Lupus do not appear to have been recognised as lawful heirs of their brother Richard, 2nd Earl of Chester (although by the same mother), for, on Richard's death, without issue, they were passed over in favour of their aunt, on whose son the Earldom therefore devolved. It is now annexed to the Crown, being one of the titles borne by the Prince of Wales.

mother was Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Claremont, Earl of Bevois, in France.) This celebrated Earl of Chester, who is better known as "Hugh Lupus," was a son of Richard-Goz, Viscount d'Auveranche, by Margaret, a half sister of the Conqueror. "Which Hugh," says Dugdale, "being a person of great note at that time amongst the Norman nobility, and an expert soldier, was, for that respect chiefly, placed so near those unconquered *Britains*, the better to restrain their bold incursions," that his uncle, the Conqueror, conferred upon him—with "royal jurisdiction" therein—the Earldom of Chester, in 1070, "to hold as freely by the Sword as the King himself held England by the Crown." This great personage is said to have enjoyed immense wealth, derived from the many lordships he held at the General Survey; "for, besides the whole of Cheshire, excepting the small part which at that time belonged to the Bishop, he had—

"Nine lordships in Berkshire;
Two in Devonshire;
Seven in Yorkshire;
Six in Wiltshire;
Ten in Dorsetshire;
Four in Somersetshire;
Thirty-two in Suffolk;
Twelve in Norfolk;
One in Hampshire;
Five in Oxfordshire;
Three in Buckinghamshire;
Four in Gloucestershire;
Two in Huntingdonshire;
Four in Nottinghamshire;
One in Warwickshire;
and Twenty-two in Leicestershire."

"It appears too," says Burke, "by the Charter of foundation to the Abbey of St. Werburge, at Chester, that several eminent persons held the rank of Baron under him." After quoting the charter, he continues:—"These Barons, be it remembered, were each and all of them men of great individual power, and large territorial possessions." Dugdale informs us that this princely Earl of Chester grew so devout before his death, that "sickness hanging upon him, he caused himself

to be shorn a monk in the abbey of St. Werburge, where, within three days after, he died, 27th July, 1101."[1]

By the Earl's daughter, Maud, Harold de Sudeley had two sons: John de Sudeley, and Robert de Ewyas, who inherited the castle of that name.

John de Sudeley, who was possessed of Sudeley and Toddington in 1140, married Grace de Traci, daughter and heiress of Henry de Traci, feudal lord of Barnstaple, in Devonshire; which Henry was the son of Turgis, the Sire de Traci, a Norman who fought at the Battle of Hastings, and whose name is distinguished as being one of those which appear on *all* the known copies of the famous Roll of Battle Abbey.[2] He derived his name from the ancient Castle of Traci, in Normandy, the ruins of which were still visible a few years ago, standing on the banks of the river near Vire, in the Arrondissement of Caen.[3] His son Henry appears, after the Conquest, to have settled in Devonshire, for he is said to have been the only person of noble birth in that county who espoused King Stephen's cause in opposition to the Empress Maud. He besieged Castle Kary, after having defeated the King's enemies at Dunsted, but he was finally forced to raise the siege by Robert Consul, Earl of Gloucester. Stephen rewarded the services of this "*excellent soldier*" in "*those western parts*" by conferring on him the Honour and Barony of Barnstaple.[4] This Barony does not seem to have passed to his daughter and heiress, Grace de Traci, wife

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[1] The Grosvenors claim descent from a nephew of this great Earl. The 1st Duke of Westminster (Hugh Lupus Grosvenor) commemorated his fifty-ninth birthday by erecting an equestrian bronze statue of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, in the open space at the west front of Eaton Hall, Chester. The figure was by Mr. Watts, R.A.

[2] "The first of the name we hear of is Turgis, or Turgisius de Traci, who, with William de la Ferté, was defeated and driven out of Maine by Fulk de Rechin, Count of Anjou, in 1073, and who was, therefore, in all probability, the Sire de Traci in the army of Hastings."—Planché.

[3] *The Roll of Battle Abbey*, by the late Duchess of Cleveland; and MS. Pedigree.

[4] *Traci-Tracye-Tracy*, by C. S. Ripley. It has been stated that the above Grace was the only child of "Lord Henri"; but the line of the Barons of Barnstaple does not appear to be clear. Some assert that "Lord Henri" was the father of one Oliver de Tracy, Baron of Barnstaple, in 1189, whose son Henry, in 1216, was succeeded by his son, Sir Oliver, the last Baron; at whose death, in 1272, the Barony passed with his daughter and heiress, Eve de Tracy, to Guy de Brienne.

of John de Sudeley, but to have been continued for some generations by another line of Tracys, which terminated in an heiress named Eve de Tracy.

On the death of John de Sudeley, the Manors of Sudeley and Toddington—which had been held jointly since the time of Princess Goda—were separated, being divided between his two sons. By Grace de Traci, the heiress, he had Ralph de Sudeley, his heir, and William, who assumed his mother's surname and inherited Toddington from his father.

Ralph de Sudeley's line terminated in the reign of Edward III., since which time Sudeley has at various periods been granted by the Crown to different distinguished families and notable persons; and, in later years, it has changed hands more than once. Before passing on to Ralph's younger brother, William de Traci and the family seated at Toddington, let us first see who were the successors of Ralph at Sudeley.

Ralph de Sudeley founded the Priory of Erdburie, and was the father of Otwell, Lord of Sudeley, who, in a deed, mentions his uncle William de Traci, of Toddington. These de Sudeleys became extinct in the male line in 1341, when Sudeley passed to a relative, Thomas Boteler. Sir Ralph Boteler, son of Thomas, was an eminent Lancastrian, and was created Baron Sudeley; but he died without issue, and Sudeley Castle was bestowed on Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who exchanged it for Richmond Castle, in Yorkshire. Later, Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, "Kept householde" at Sudeley. Edward VI. granted the castle and manor to his uncle, Sir Thomas Seymour (created Baron Seymour of Sudeley), whose wife, the Dowager Queen Catherine (Parr), widow of Henry VIII., died and was buried at Sudeley. Under her care Lady Jane Grey resided there some time. Subsequently Queen Mary granted the castle to Sir John Brydges, who was created Baron Chandos of Sudeley. One of his daughters married Henry Tracy, of Toddington (nephew of Sir Richard Tracy, of Stanway), by whom she became grandmother of the 1st Viscount Tracy; another married George Throckmorton (of Coughton), a cousin of the Tracys; and Edmund, 2nd Lord Chandos, was the father of Catherine, "The Fair Brydges," who married William, 3rd Lord Sandys of the Vine.[1]

[1] Refer to *Sandys*, p. 167.

The 6th Lord Chandos, a distinguished Royalist, received Charles I. at Sudeley Castle during the siege of Gloucester. He bequeathed Sudeley to his widow, Jane, daughter of Earl Rivers. She married secondly George Pitt, of Strathfieldsaye; and thus Sudeley passed to the descendants of her second marriage, one of whom was created Baron Rivers, of Sudeley Castle, in 1802. The second Lord Rivers sold the castle to the Duke of Buckingham in 1810. (Four years later Lord Rivers also sold Strathfieldsaye, which was purchased for the great Duke of Wellington.) In 1837 the then Duke of Buckingham and Chandos sold Sudeley Castle to Messrs. Dent, of Worcester. Thus ends this account of the de Sudeleys—the senior line of de Traci, of Toddington—and of their castle, whence, as Camden said, they had their "addition."[1]

In the reign of Henry VIII. the castle appears to have fallen into decay, for Leland wrote that, "Now it goeth into ruinne, more pittye."

In the reign of George III., Sir Egerton Brydges—(whose elder brother unsuccessfully claimed the Barony of Chandos of Sudeley, in the House of Lords, some thirty times between the years 1790 and 1803)—wrote the lines:

> "Thy sun is set, thy battlements are fallen,
> And sunk to ruin thy baronial hall,
> Once far-famed Sudeley! Waves thy Cross no more
> On thy reft towers; nor grins the Leopard rude
> His feudal fierceness on thy tumbling roof."[2]

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[1] *i.e.* Surname.

[2] A leopard's face, on a cross, sable, was the Coat of Arms of the Lords Chandos, of Sudeley.

Sudeley Castle

CHAPTER IV

DE TRACI

WILLIAM DE TRACI—younger son of John de Sudeley by Grace de Traci—having assumed his mother's surname, became thus the first of a long line of Tracys, of Toddington, of whom there were no less than twenty-two in unbroken descent, from father to son. He held his lands of his brother, Ralph de Sudeley, by one knight's fee. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, describes him as "a man of high birth, state and stomach, a favourite of the King's, and his daily attendant."

He was one of those four knights who, being instigated by an impatient exclamation of Henry II., proceeded to Canterbury Cathedral, and there slew Thomas à Becket, the Archbishop, 30th December, 1170. The other three knights were Reginald Fitz-Urse, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito. The details of the assassination are variously given, but one historian tells them as follows:

"These four knights of Henry's court—'*men of family, conspicuous for eminence*'—crossed the sea, and arrived at Canterbury on the fifth day of the Nativity. They made their way into the Archbishop's chambers, and addressed him insolently. Threats were exchanged and mutual revilings. The knights required the prelate to withdraw the excommunication of the Bishops, and to do fealty to the King for his Barony. John of Salisbury, his secretary, counselled peace. But Becket was unmoved by terror or by entreaty. He was ready to meet the death which appeared to be impending. He took no precautions against outrage, but resolved to go to vespers in the Cathedral. As he came from the conventual buildings into the Cloister—perhaps descending from that beautiful staircase upon which the eye of the tasteful antiquary still gazes with delight—there was heard the tramp of armed men mingling with the slow tread of the monks. Quietly he proceeded into the church, and stood before the altar of St. Bennet.

"'Where is the traitor? Where is the Archbishop?' exclaimed Tracy.

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[1] Hoveden.

"The courageous prelate answered, 'Here am I, the Archbishop, but no traitor.'

"'Thou art a prisoner,' said Tracy, and took him by the sleeve; but the old martial temper was roused, and the Archbishop threw him off with violence. There are various accounts of Becket's deportment, some imputing to him the use of offensive language to his assailants, and others representing him as an angel of meekness. He refused to fly; or to make any submission. He was then struck at, and as the sword of Fitz-Urse was descending on his head, his faithful cross-bearer, Edward Gryme, received the blow upon his arm. Becket was slightly wounded and fell. Another and another blow completed the murder."[1]

The following year (1171) the King appointed Sir William "Justiciary," or Steward, of Normandy, an office which he held, according to Burke, "two years," but in which he appears not to have been succeeded by the Bishop of Winchester until 1176. At all events, de Traci was present at Falaise when William, King of Scotland, did homage to King Henry in 1174. During the reign of King John, Sir William appeared in arms with the other barons, in consequence of which his lands were confiscated; but they were restored to him in the second year of Henry III.'s reign (1218), as is shown by a Roll, dated at Westminster the 18th of November in that year. In his later years he seems to have repented of the share he took in the murder of the Archbishop, for he founded and endowed a chapel to Thomas à Becket in the conventual church at Tewkesbury.

"There exists," wrote the Duchess of Cleveland, "a generally received tradition that he retired to his estates in the West of England, where '*he led a private life, when the wind and weather turned against him*'; and, according to the local history of his native County of Gloucester, reached the good old age of ninety. His residence was at Morthoe, close to Woollacomb Bay, and the worthy folks of Devonshire aver that his tormented spirit may, even now, be heard moaning and lamenting on the Woollacomb sands, where it is doomed to wander restlessly to and fro, toiling to '*make bundles of sand and wisps of the same.*' He was, it is said, buried at Morthoe, where an effigy, by some believed to be his, remains in the Church."

The doubt which the Duchess of Cleveland thus implied with regard to this effigy, is confirmed by Mr. J. B. Chanter, in his work on

[1] Knight.

the *Memorials of St. Peter's Church, Barnstaple;* for, in speaking of the Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr—in the year 1882—he gives his reason for thinking that the old tomb is probaby that of some other de Traci. In mentioning the Chapel he says that it had "totally disappeared generations since." However, it will be best here to quote what he says of both this Chapel and the tomb *in extenso:*

"The Chapel of St. Thomas à Beckett stood at the foot of the Long Bridge, and, according to tradition, was erected by one of the Tracies, who were Lords of the Castle at Barnstaple, in expiation or atonement of the murder of à Beckett, by his ancestor. The name of the Chapel appears to confirm this view, and this method of atonement is in conformity with the reigning superstition of the period. There is also, as is well known, a tradition that Sir William de Tracy, after the murder, retired to North Devon, and died, and was buried at Morthoe, where a very ancient tomb, said to be his, is shown. There is probably no tomb whose history has been more debated than this, or even the family to whom it belonged, there having been two distinct families of the same name connected with Devon; and although accepted by Camden, Risdon, and other historians, as the tomb of the noted de Tracy, yet a critical examination proves it to be only the monument of an ecclesiastio of a later date, and, although the historic de Tracy undoubtedly retired to the West after the murder, and engrafted his story on local superstitions, he subsequently went to Italy, and died, and was buried there. Even the inscription on the tomb, which is nearly effaced, and has been roughly translated as—

'Syre William de Tracie
May I find mercie'—

has had many different readings, the exact words most generally accepted being—

'Syre Gillaume de Trace,
gist icy Diu de son alme eyt mercie.'

The tomb, however, is of a most interesting character, but was opened and desecrated centuries since. As Westcote, writing of Morthoe in 1630, quaintly says: 'A place where Sir William de Tracey for a time rested in ease, until some ill-affected persons, seeking for treasure, but disappointed, stole the leaden sheets he lay in, leaving him in danger to take cold.'

"Local tradition," continues Mr. Chanter, "goeth that, after the murder, the Pope cursed, banned, and excommunicated him so

powerfully that it made the wind always to blow in his face, and the weather always against him, the local proverb running—

'*The fate of the Tracys—*
The wind in their faces.'"

From the Bishop's Register it appears that, in 1319, prayers were offered in the "Chapel of the blessed St. Thomas, near the Bridge of Barnstaple, for the souls of Henry de Tracy, his progenitors and successors." This Henry was probably Sir William's son and heir. Whether Sir William died in Devonshire or in Italy, whether he was buried in the latter country or at Morthoe, and whether the much-disputed effigy be his or no, are questions which may remain for ever in doubt; but, from Burke, we learn that he died about the year 1224. Sir William's wife was Hawise de Born (who married secondly Hugh Fitz-William, Lord of Hatton, in Warwickshire), by whom he had two daughters—married respectively to Sir Gervase Courtenay and to William de Arden[1]—and a son and successor, Sir Henry Tracy, of Toddington.

[1] Sir William de Traci's eldest daughter married Sir Gervase Courtenay; and one of their sons, Oliver, assumed his mother's name, and as "Sir Oliver Tracy" is mentioned among the knights who paid scutage in the second year of King John's reign. Sir William de Traci's younger daughter married William de Arden, of an ancient Saxon family, stated (in the Visitation of Warwick, in 1619) to have been "*meerly English, of the auncient bloud of the Saxons, and they were, before the Conquest, Lordes of Warwick*," being descended from Alwyn, Earl of Warwick, *temp.* Edward the Confessor. From this marriage of William de Arden with a daughter of Sir William de Traci, descended various branches of that family, including the Ardens of Park Hall. Mary, daughter of Robert Arden, married John Shakespeare, and was the mother of William Shakespeare (Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*). The Ardens were justly proud of their descent from Sir William de Traci; one of the co-heiresses of Park Hall was named *Goditha*, in remembrance of their descent through the Tracys from the Saxon Princess of that name.

CHAPTER V

TRACY OF TODDINGTON

Of the twenty-two generations of the Tracys of Toddington, the Tracys of Stanway and the Tracys of New England are derived from *thirteen*.

1. Sir William de Traci, treated of in the previous chapter, was succeeded by his son and heir—

2. Sir Henry Tracy, of Toddington, who dying about 1246, was followed by his son—

3. Sir Henry Tracy, of Toddington, who appears in a charter, 26th July, 1260, and was summoned to perform military service at Carmarthen in the eleventh year of the reign of Edward I. He died about 1296, was succeeded by his son—

4. Sir William Tracy, of Toddington, who is recorded among the Knights of Gloucestershire in the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward I., and is stated to have had a command, with his kinsman, Ralph de Sudeley, in the Scottish War. His son—

5. Sir William Tracy, of Toddington, was in ward to Laurence Tresham in the twenty-ninth year of Edward I.'s reign; and, at the beginning of the reign of Edward II., he was at the Tournament at Dunstable, as appears from an old drawing of a knight in armour, bearing a standard with the arms of the family. In the seventeenth year of the same reign he was appointed, jointly with John Bermansel, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, "which office in those times," says Burke, "was of great importance and authority." In a Roll of the Nobles of England, dated at Berwick 30th June, 1315, his name appears with those of William de Sudeley, William le Boteler, of Wemme, and others.[1] Sir William Tracy was twice elected to

[1] The Tracys of Toddington are frequently mentioned in old documents, which also speak of their kinsmen, of the senior line (and neighbours), the Barons de Sudeley, of Sudeley. The latter family having intermarried with that of Boteler of Wemme, was, on the failure of its male line, succeeded at Sudeley by Sir Ralph le Boteler, K.G., who was created Baron Sudeley in 1441, but who died without issue.

Parliament as one of the Knights of Gloucestershire. He left, besides a daughter,[1] a son and heir—

6. William Tracy, Esq., of Toddington, who, jointly with Thomas Berkeley, of Coberle, received a mandate, in 1333, to raise 300 men from the forest of Dene, and 200 men in the County of Gloucester. He was succeeded by his son—

7. Sir John Tracy, of Toddington, Knight of Gloucestershire in 1358; and Sheriff of the County for five years in succession from that year. He died in 1363, and was followed by his son and heir, another—

8. Sir John Tracy, of Toddington, who likewise was Sheriff of Gloucestershire, and also a Member of Parliament in the thirty-second, thirty-seventh, fortieth, and forty-third years of Edward III.[2] This Sir John was one of the five English Knights who combated at the Tournament before Varnes; and he is also stated to have served in Brittany under Thomas Plantagenet, then Earl of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III.[3] He died in 1379 leaving a son—

9. William Tracy, Esq., of Toddington, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1395. This William died in 1399, and his son—

10. William Tracy, Esq., of Toddington, was called to the Privy Council of Henry IV., as appears from a private letter, still extant, written by the King in the most flattering terms, and dated 21st July, 1401, "from my Manor of Sutton." In the fifth year of Henry V.'s reign this William Tracy was High Sheriff, and "*one of those persons of quality in the County of Gloucester, who, bearing ancient arms from his ancestors, and holding by tenure, had summons, in the 7th Henry V., to serve the King in person for defence of the realm.*" He married Alice, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Guy de la Spine, Knt., Lord of Coughton, in Warwickshire, and widow of William Gifford.

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[1] Margery, daughter of this Sir William Tracy, married John Archer, of Umberslade, ancestor of the Lords Archer; a title which was created in 1747, and expired in 1778.

[2] 1359, 1364, 1367, and 1370.

[3] "Thomas of Woodstock," Earl of Buckingham, was subsequently created Duke of Gloucester by his nephew, Richard II.; but he finally forfeited that Sovereign's goodwill by his opposition to Richard de Vere, Duke of Ireland, the King's favourite.

"TODDINGTON"
PART OF THE OLD HOUSE

This lady's sister, Eleanor de la Spine, married Sir John Throckmorton, of Cross Court, and was the grandmother of Margaret Throckmorton who married Sir William Tracy, great-grandson of the above William Tracy and of Alice de la Spine. The lordship of Coughton, formerly called Cocton, passed with the said Eleanor de la Spine to the Throckmortons. It had come to the family of de la Spine —*alias* Spiney, *alias* De Spineto, *alias* Spyne—by the marriage of Sir Guy's grandfather, William de la Spine, with Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Simon de Cocton, "*the lineal heir male to Ralph, son of William de Cocton; who were all persons of great account, and flourished at that place before the reign of Henry II.*" Lodge tells us that William de la Spine, father of Sir Guy, "*held notable employments*" in the County of Warwick, in the reign of Edward III.

Sir Guy was Knight for Warwickshire in the Parliaments of Richard II., and Escheator of that County and of Leicestershire. By his daughter, Alice, William Tracy had a son and heir, another—

11. William Tracy, Esq., of Toddington, who was Sheriff of Gloucester in the twenty-second and twenty-third years of King Henry VI.'s reign;[1] and for seven years afterwards he was Commissioner of Array in the same County. He died in 1460, leaving by his wife Margery, daughter of Sir John Pauncefort, Knt., of Hasfield, Gloucestershire, and of Crickhowell, Herefordshire, a successor—

12. Henry Tracy, Esq., of Toddington, who died in 1506, leaving three sons and two daughters by Alice, his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Baldington, of Alderley, in Oxfordshire. The youngest son, Ralph, was "*a monke and Prior of the Charterhowse by Syon, and was there slayne by Goodwyn, a monke of the same howse.*" The eldest of the three sons was—

13. Sir William Tracy, of Toddington, who was the thirteenth of his name to hold Toddington in unbroken descent, from father to son, from the time of Harold de Sudeley and Grace de Traci. Of this Sir William, who (like most of his predecessors) was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the fifth year (1513) of Henry VIII., Burke says:

"He was a gentleman of excellent parts and sound learning, and

[1] It is also stated that he held that office in 1449.

CHAPTER VI

TRACY OF STANWAY

RICHARD—the second son of that Sir William Tracy, of Toddington, by Margaret Throckmorton—received from his father the Manor of Stanway, in the County of Gloucester, which had been granted to the said Sir William Tracy by the Crown on the suppression of monasteries, as it had formed a part of the lands of the Abbey of Tewkesbury. Richard Tracy was a learned man, "*and wrote*" (as we are told) "*in defence of his father's faith and his own.*" This ardent Puritan was, it will be remembered, a nephew of Ralph Tracy, the monk, who was Prior of Charterhouse; and the very fact that the said Ralph was "*slayn by Goodwyn, a monke of the same house,*" may perhaps have contributed somewhat to this extreme Protestantism—a Faith which led Sir William to write his famous Will (with the result that his body was burnt[1]), and one with which Richard Tracy was so firmly imbued that, after a lapse of three centuries, his descendants in America continued to be noted for their adherence to its tenets. "This Richard," says an old writer, "was well educated, and wrote learnedly of his father's Faith several treatises in the English tongue, and that most remarkable one, entitled *Preparations for the Cross*, written experimentally, having suffered much in his estate for his father's reputed heretical Will; he also wrote prophetically, *anno* 1550 (few years before the beginning of Queen Mary), another treatise, *To Teach One to Die*, which is annexed to his *Preparations to the Cross*, which was reprinted, and falsely ascribed by the editor to be

[1] According to Wilkins, Archbishop Warham gave the order to exhume Sir William Tracy's remains, in consequence of his being denounced as unworthy of Christian burial on account of his Will; and the duty was committed to the Bishop of Worcester's vicar-general, Parker. "Tracy's Will" thus became a sacred possession to the Reformers, among whom copies of it were secretly circulated. The steps against Parker for his "over-zeal" in burning Sir William's body, were taken by Thomas Cromwell at the instigation of Richard Tracy.

"Charlecote"

composed by John Frith, being one of the three that was found in the belly of a cod brought into the market to be sold at Cambridge, A.D. 1626, wrapped about with canvas, very probably what that voracious fish plundered out of the pocket of some shipwrecked seaman." These treatises were classed as "*dangerous*" with those of Melancthon, Tyndale, and Frith.

Richard Tracy was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the second year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He died in 1569, having had three sons and three daughters[1] by his wife, Barbara Lucy—a pupil of Fox, the martyrologist—daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, in Warwickshire.[2] Nathaniel, their eldest son—according to the Visitation of the County of Gloucester in 1623, but the *second* son according to Burke—was Sheriff of Gloucestershire about 1586, and appears to have died without issue previous to 1623. The third son, Samuel Tracy, of Clifford Priory, Herefordshire, was the father of two sons,

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[1] One of the daughters married "Francis Throgmorton."

[2] The Lucys were seated at Charlecote in the Twelfth century, and are of Royal descent. Among their ancestors (through Julianne de Vere, Countess of Norfolk, sister of the 1st Earl of Oxford) was Alberic de Vere, the first Great Chamberlain of England, of his name. Barbara Lucy, wife of Richard Tracy, was aunt of the Sir Thomas Lucy who rebuilt the manor house at Charlecote as it now stands, and who prosecuted Shakespeare for stealing deer in Fulbroke Park. The prosecution was conducted with much bitterness in consequence of a lampoon which the poet had written on Sir Thomas. Sir Walter Scott suggests that Shakespeare was also accused by Lucy of *kissing his keeper's daughter*—hence the passage in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I., scene i.: "*kiss'd your keeper's daughter.*" To escape from the consequences of this prosecution the dramatist was obliged to fly from his native place; but he revenged himself later by satirising Sir Thomas as *Justice* Shallow. A "luce" was the old name for a "pike," and the family of Lucy bore for coat-of-arms "three luces"; it is, therefore, this coat-of-arms which Shakespeare ridicules in the first few lines of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Shallow's identification of himself with his forefathers, in the words: "*Ay, that I do, and have done any time these three hundrea years,*" is very characteristic. Shallow is also made to say: "*The luce is the fresh fish;* the salt fish is *an old coat.*" Collier remarks that "a joke seems intended upon the manner in which salt fish was capable of being kept." Verplanck says that "the English commentators have been much perplexed here, and pronounce the passage '*an heraldic puzzle.*' Did not Shakespeare merely intend to ridicule the pedantry of heraldry, so common in his days, and doubtless, like all other pedantry, often blundering?"

named Samuel and Thomas, of whom the latter was *born in Herefordshire before the year* 1601.[1]

Sir Paul Tracy, Bart., of Stanway—who, according to the Visitation of the County of Gloucester, was the second son of Richard Tracy and Barbara Lucy, but who, according to Burke, was their eldest son—was created a Baronet by James I., 29th June, 1611, "being the thirteenth created from the institution of that order." Sir Paul was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and appears to have succeeded his (elder?) brother Nathaniel in that office, which office his family enjoyed for so many generations. Sir Paul was also Sheriff in the eighth year of the reign of James I. By his first wife, Anne Sharkerley[2] (who died in 1615), daughter and heiress of Ralph Sharkerley, or Shakerley, of Ayno-on-the-Hill, Northamptonshire, Sir Paul had *twenty-one children!* By his second wife, Anne (who died in 1625), daughter and heiress of Sir Ambrose Nicholas, Knt., Lord Mayor of London, Sir Paul had no issue. He died in 1626, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Richard, the 2nd Baronet,[3] who had three sons, Humphrey, Richard, and John, neither of whom had issue; they each in turn succeeded to the Baronetcy as 3rd, 4th, and 5th Baronets;[4] on the death of Sir John, the 5th Bart., in 1677, the title was presumed to be extinct (although it should have passed to the heirs male of his father's younger brothers), and the estate of Stanway passed, in accordance with his Will, to his distant cousin, Ferdinando Tracy, a younger son of the 3rd Viscount Tracy, descended from William Tracy, of Toddington, the elder brother of Richard Tracy, of Stanway, Sir John's great-grandfather.[5]

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[1] Ripley, *Records of the Herald's College.*

[2] Her mother was Alice, daughter and heiress of Hugh Radcliff.

[3] Sir Richard, the 2nd Bart., was knighted in the lifetime of his father, Sir Paul, and was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign.

[4] Sir Humphrey, the 3rd Bart., was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in the fifteenth year of the reign of Charles I., and suffered severely for his loyalty, having to pay £1,600 to sequestrators for composition for his estate.

[5] On Sir John's death the Baronetcy was believed to have expired, he being supposed to be the last descendant, in the male line, of Sir Paul, the 1st Bart. It was not remarkable that, in those times, his uncle, Thomas (ninth son of Sir Paul), should

Of Sir Paul's large family the ninth (but, *in 1623*, the *seventh surviving*) son was Thomas Tracy, who was born in Gloucestershire —probably at Stanway—in 1610, and was some twenty-three years younger than his eldest brother, who married about that year.

Thomas was, therefore, but five years old when he lost his mother (Anne Sharkerley), and—his father having married again—he was about fifteen when his stepmother died. The following year, 1626, Sir Paul died, and Thomas Tracy, at the age of about sixteen, was one of the youngest of this large orphaned family. Of the ensuing ten years of his early manhood nothing definite is known, but, at the age of twenty-six, the name of Thomas Tracy appears in the old records of the American Colonies, and these bear witness to the various ways in which he distinguished himself in the land of his adoption.

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have been overlooked, since he, having emigrated to America in his youth, and having already been there for over forty years, had most probably been lost sight of by his relatives, and was very likely believed by them to have predeceased (without issue) his nephew, Sir John. Stanway is now in the possession of the direct heirs of the Hon. Ferdinando Tracy (to whom Sir John bequeathed it), whose male line, however, soon terminated; for his grandson, Anthony Tracy, of Stanway (who assumed the additional name of Keck) had by his wife, Lady Susan Hamilton, daughter of the 4th Duke of Hamilton, only two daughters: Henrietta Charlotte, Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte, who married the 12th Viscount Hereford, but had no issue; and Susan Tracy-Keck, who married Lord Elcho, from whom Stanway passed to her son, the 7th Earl of Wemyss and March, in the possession of whose family it still remains.

CHAPTER VII

LIEUTENANT THOMAS TRACY

THOMAS TRACY, who, according to tradition, described himself to his immediate descendants as "*a grandson of Richard Tracy, of Stanway, born in Gloucestershire, in the vicinity of Tewksbury*," was born in 1610. This year of his birth is ascertained from the fact that he died 7th November, 1685, "*in the seventy-sixth year of his age.*"[1] The only "grandson of Richard Tracy, of Stanway," born in that year and named Thomas Tracy, was the ninth son of Sir Paul Tracy, Bart., of Stanway. Hence it would appear that on the extinction of the male line of Sir Paul's elder sons, Thomas Tracy and his heirs male should have succeeded to the Baronetcy, which is one of the oldest in existence, having been created in 1611 by James I., and being only the thirteenth such honour from the institution of that order.

Writers generally have stated that Thomas Tracy emigrated to New England in 1636, but recent research in the old records of Salem has brought to light the statement that he had previously been in Virginia. Be that as it may, it is in that year, in the month of April—when he was twenty-six years of age—that we find him acquiring land in the town of Salem, Massachusetts, where he resided until the following February. But the precise date of his emigration, the first place of his landing in the New World, and the companions with whom he arrived, are as yet unknown. In February, 1637, he went to Wethersfield, Connecticut, and "before 1639, he had removed to Saybrook, Connecticut, where he acquired lands in what was called *Oyster River-Quarter.*"[2] It was, however, at Wethersfield, in 1641, that he married Mary, widow of Edward Mason, and the statement that he "*then removed to Saybrook*"[3] should, perhaps, be taken to mean that he subsequently *returned* there—after the births of his two

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[1] This subject has been very fully gone into by Mr. Ripley, in his interesting history of the ancestors of Thomas Tracy.

[2] MS. in the possession of A. M. Bradhurst.

[3] Lieutenant Ripley.

By permission of Lord Elcho "STANWAY" *Photographed July, 1900*

eldest children, John and Thomas. His younger children were all born at Saybrook.

In 1645 he and Thomas Leffingwell, and others, undertook an expedition of relief, and carried provisions to Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, who was being besieged at Shattuck's Point by Pessachus, Sachem of the Narragansetts. As a result of this friendly act, Uncas conveyed the township of Norwich—nine miles square—to its settlers, in 1659, and the deed was attested by two witnesses, of whom one was Thomas Tracy. About this period his wife died, having had seven children, and in 1660 Mr. Tracy finally settled in the town of Norwich, of which he was now one of the proprietors, where he rapidly became "a man of great weight and influence." The ensuing year, 1661, he was on a committee, appointed by the General Court, "to try the bounds of New London"; in 1662 he was chosen by the people to be one of the Court of Commission; in 1666 he was appointed ensign in the first "Train Band of Norwich"; in the years 1667, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1675, 1676, and 1678 he was the Deputy from Norwich to the Legislature, and in 1682, 1683, and 1685 he was the Deputy from Preston. He was a member of the Colonial Assembly at numerous sessions; indeed, it is said that no less than twenty-eight times was he the chosen Deputy of Norwich in the General Court. He took a leading part in the military affairs of the Colony, and, when an invasion of the Dutch was apprehended in 1673, he was appointed second in command of the "New London County Dragoons," with the rank of "Lieutenant."

Two years later, in 1675, there broke out that war known in American history as "King Philip's War," between the New England Colonists and Philip, an Indian chief, who had succeeded to the sole possession of his chieftainship on the death of his brother.[1] "King Philip" was the son of Massasoit, a chief who had been the first Indian ally of the Pilgrims. The origin of the war was accidental: an Indian informer was killed by his tribe; the murderers were arrested, tried, and convicted by a jury of which, it must be observed, one half were Indians. The murderers were hanged. In revenge, the young Indian braves attacked an English settlement and killed eight or nine English-

[1] In this war it will be remembered that Captain James Sands, of Block Island, commanded the Militia.

men. King Philip is said to have wept when he heard that a white man's blood had been shed. He had but 700 warriors, and was surrounded by the English; he knew that victory was impossible. Within a week the Indians were driven from their quarters; within a month Philip was a fugitive among the Indians of the interior. But it was only now that the real danger of the war for the Colonists began. Philip moved from place to place among the tribes, urging them to war against the English. From Maine to Connecticut the Indians rose, almost to a tribe, the Mohegans forming the one signal exception, a circumstance probably due in, at least, a great measure to their recollection of the assistance formerly rendered to their tribe, and to Uncas, their Sachem, by Thomas Tracy and his companions. The terror of King Philip's War reigned for a whole year. Houses were burnt, towns destroyed, and one-twentieth of the able-bodied Colonists is said to have perished. But the energy of the Indians was at length overcome by the continuousness of civilised warfare. Philip, chased from place to place with the remnant of his braves, broken-hearted through the capture of his wife and child, turned his face once more to the hunting-grounds of his fathers, where he was surprised and shot by an Indian. During these twelve months of bloodshed and rapine Thomas Tracy, now sixty-five years old, was among the foremost of those who distinguished themselves in defence of the Colony. We find his name, linked with that of John Bradford, as joint commissary and quartermaster, and stationed at Norwich, a principal rendezvous during that time.

By the irony of fate, John Bradford, who was a son of Governor William Bradford, died two years later, and Thomas Tracy married his widow soon afterwards. It is interesting to note that, some generations laters, a descendant of Thomas Tracy married a descendant of John Bradford's brother, Major William Bradford; and it is through that union that a certain branch of the Tracys—the one to which Mrs. Henry Maunsell Bradhurst belonged—claim descent from the famous Governor Bradford, who was one of those "Pilgrim Fathers" who "came over" in the celebrated *Mayflower* in 1620.[1]

[1] A list of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, who landed at Plymouth Rock, may be interesting: "Mr. Isaac Allerton, John Alden, John Allerton, *Mr. William Bradford*, Mr. William Brewster, John Billington, Peter Brown, Richard Britterage, Mr. John

Thomas Tracy was an associate Judge of the County (he was appointed a Justice in 1678), and held many minor offices in the town of Norwich, where he acquired a large estate for those times; the personal property amounting to a considerable sum, and the real estate being more than five thousand acres. In 1677, when Sir John Tracy, the fourth, and generally supposed *last* Baronet, died, Thomas Tracy was sixty-seven years old. If the news of this event ever reached him, it could not, at all events, have done so for some considerable time in those days; and even so, it would have doubtless been accompanied by the information that the family estate of Stanway—impoverished through the loyalty of its owners to the cause of Charles I.—had been willed away by Sir John to a distant cousin. One does not wonder that Thomas Tracy took no steps to establish his succession, when one recollects all which that would involve; when one bears in mind the times in which he lived, and notes the fact that, although his kinsmen had suffered for their loyalty to the Crown, yet Charles II. was not so lavish of gratitude as to make it worth the while of a man like Thomas Tracy to abandon all that he had acquired during a lifetime in the "Colonies," in order to return to England and claim—what?—an empty Baronetcy! Small wonder, then, if, when well-nigh seventy, surrounded by a large family, held in honour by the friends of years, and possessed of a fair fortune and estate, he should have shrunk, for so small a purpose, from recrossing the wide ocean to find himself a poor, rough "Colonial" in that brilliant "Merrie England" of the Restoration so uncongenial to his Puritan principles.

"Thomas Tracy," says Robinson, "was well educated for the time in which he lived. This placed him to advantage among the leading men of the Colony directly upon his arrival. Throughout a long life,

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Carver, Francis Cook, James Chilton, John Crackston, Richard Clarke, Edward Dotey, Francis Eaton, Thomas English, Mr. Samuel Fuller, Moses Fletcher, John Goodman, Richard Gardiner, John Howland, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Edward Leister, Mr. Christopher Martin, Mr. William Mullins, Edmund Margeson, Degony Priest, Thomas Rogers, John Rigdale, Captain Miles Standish, George Soule, Edward Tilly, John Tilly, Thomas Tinker, John Turner, Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. William White, Mr. Richard Warren, Thomas Williams, Gilbert Winslow; and the following servants: Carter, Coper, Ely, Holbecke, Hooke, Langemore, Latham, Minter, More, Prower, Sampson, Story, Thompson, Trevore, and Wilder."

the Legislature frequently appointed him upon important committees, and he held his full share of public offices, legislative, military, and magisterial. He was a gentleman of consequence in the community, a thorough business man, and of the very best personal character." He died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, 7th November, 1685, at Norwich, and was buried there. He married three times: his second wife, whom he married at Norwich, about 1678, was Martha, daughter of Thomas Bourne, of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and widow of John Bradford, son of Governor Bradford. In 1683, Thomas Tracy married, at Norwich, his third wife, Mary Foote, daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Deming) Foote, of Wethersfield, and widow firstly of John Stoddard, who had died in 1664, and secondly of John Goodrich, who had died in 1680.[1] By neither of these marriages, however, did Thomas Tracy have any issue; but by Mary Mason, his first wife, whom he married in 1641 at Wethersfield, and who died about 1659, he had six sons and a daughter, Miriam, who married Thomas Waterman. All these children married and had issue, with the exception of one of the sons. Thus from five of Thomas Tracy's sons numerous branches of the family in America are derived; and their kinship to the senior line of their ancient House, seated at Toddington, in Gloucestershire, has from time to time, and in various generations, been cordially recognised by its representatives. And so, on the death of the last Viscount Tracy (the intermediate branch at Stanway having previously failed in male heirs), it would seem that the *representation* of this old and knightly family in the *male line* devolved upon the American Tracys; whilst, at the same time, the Peerage became extinct, and Toddington Manor passed to the last Viscount's only daughter.

Among the numerous descendants of Thomas Tracy there have been many who have distinguished themselves in various careers: statesmen, soldiers, lawyers, orators, and men of letters; many eminent men of the Tracy name and blood in all the professions of life. But, in so widely spread a family, it would indeed be astonishing if there had not been some who were more notorious than famous; and one,

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[1] *Ancestors of Lieutenant Thomas Tracy, of Norwich*, by Charles Stedman Ripley, published in 1895.

at all events, there was whose fame was infamous. Let us be honest; and may our very honesty tend but to emphasise all the honour justly due to so many of his Tracy forefathers and kinsmen.

For a time, therefore, we must digress, and set aside the consideration of Thomas Tracy's sons and their families—with whom we are more directly concerned—while we pause to glance at the offspring of his only daughter, Miriam, wife of Thomas Waterman. Among her descendants there is one name—in letters of scarlet!—which at once arrests the attention. It is that of her great-grandson, Benedict Arnold. Educated Americans need not to be told who he was, nor what he did, nor how he ended; but in Europe it is otherwise; and, as in the case of Aaron Burr, to whom reference has been made in our earlier chapters, he is little more than a name flickering through those paragraphs in English histories which deal with the War of American Independence. In order, therefore, to make any historical allusions in these pages equally clear on both sides of the Atlantic, it may not be amiss here to diverge from the direct lineage of the Tracys, and to give some brief account of General Arnold, who inherited their blood, although, fortunately for them, not their name.

Benedict Arnold was a man of reckless courage and determination, haughty, good-looking, and extravagant; a conspicuous figure among the younger commanders serving under General Washington. His principal feats are his invasion of Canada in the face of extreme privations and difficulties, his persevering blockade of Quebec, and his bravery at the battle of Stillwater. In September, 1775, he was detached from the main army by Washington with about 1,100 men. The misfortunes and troubles which he encountered on the march were extreme. His second in command deserted with three companies. Arnold's diminished force was reduced to eat not only its last ox, but its last dog! When he finally reached the walls of Quebec, he had but 900 barefoot and ragged men. In December he was joined, as had been arranged, by General Montgomery with so small a force that their combined number was less than a thousand men, besides 200 Canadian Volunteers. Yet in spite of the condition and paucity of their numbers, Montgomery and Arnold decided on the insanely heroic idea of attempting to storm what was "the strongest fortified city in America, defended by more than 200 cannon of heavy

metal, and a garrison of twice the number of besiegers." The attempt was fixed for the last night of the year. It was a dark and stormy night, that 31st of December, 1775; and Montgomery, with his men in Indian file, advanced through driving snow, hail, and wind, closely attended by his young aide-de-camp, Aaron Burr. Thus, by one of those coincidences on which genealogists frequently stumble, we meet in the same scene with both Burr and Arnold: two notorious and hateful characters; and, withal, interesting, and stamped indelibly upon American history. Burr's part in connection with the Bradhursts, his wife's relationship to them, and General Maunsell's opinion of him, are told elsewhere.[1] Arnold's distant kinship to the Tracys has already been stated.[2] But to return to the siege of Quebec: the principal assaults were gallantly led by General Montgomery and Arnold in person. The attempt, however, failed utterly, and the former was killed, his last words being those of encouragement to his men as they wavered within a few yards of the cannon. General Montgomery, like General Maunsell, was an Irishman by birth, and married to an American.[3] Two-thirds of the American invaders having been taken prisoners, Arnold displayed his indomitable will by remaining encamped before the walls with the remnant of his force, and declaring that he would not leave until he had entered Quebec in triumph. He sent for a reinforcement of 10,000 men. It was impossible for Washington to comply with such a demand, and Arnold continued doggedly at his post. In the month of March—after three months of waiting—General Wooster arrived with 1,500 men. Further reinforcements came later. But all this was now in vain. Wooster, aged and inefficient, had brought neither money nor supplies. "The peasantry were irritated by requisitions; the population, at first favourably disposed towards the invaders, soon became hostile almost to a man, and a party of Canadians attempted, though unsuccessfully, to raise the

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[1] Aaron Burr, it will be remembered, married Theodosia, widow of Colonel Prevost; niece of Mrs. Maunsell, and cousin of Mrs. Samuel Bradhurst, and of Lady Affleck, etc.

[2] Benedict Arnold was a great-great-grandson of Lieutenant Thomas Tracy.

[3] General Montgomery's wife was a sister of Chancellor Livingston. General Maunsell's wife was one of the "six beautiful" daughters of Richard Stillwell and Mercy Sands.

blockade of Quebec." Arnold's many difficulties soon reached a climax. "Small-pox broke out, a retreat was ordered, which a sally turned into a rout, and although Congress still made further efforts to send more men, the remnants of the army, which in little more than two months had lost by desertion and death more than 5,000 men, had to fall back within the American frontier in a most pitiable condition, so that an eye-witness declared that he did not look into a tent or hut in which he did not find 'either a dead or a dying man.'" This was in July, 1776.

In September of the following year, Benedict Arnold so distinguished himself at the battle of Stillwater, that he has been called the hero of that fight.[1] Through the jealousy of Gates, being deprived of his command, he actually resumed it in October, in spite of that General's orders, and whilst under fire, when the Americans were engaged by Burgoyne. Again he displayed the utmost bravery, and did not leave the field until obliged to do so by a wound in the leg. But, like many a better man, Arnold's success was his own downfall; for when he was subsequently placed in command at Philadelphia, after its evacuation by the British, his arrogance became unbridled; his arbitrary proceedings and overbearing manner irritated the people; he indulged in extravagance, and then followed his downward course; debt, disastrous speculations, and rumours of fraud and peculation, led finally to his trial by court-martial on four out of six grave charges. On two he was found guilty; namely, of having illegally granted a passport to a vessel, and of having used some public waggons for private purposes. The Court ordered that he should be publicly reprimanded by Washington. Meanwhile, the Committee appointed in Congress to examine his accounts during his command in Canada, found these to be confused and irregular, and reported that there were large deductions. Having in vain appealed against the decision of the Court, declaring himself wronged, he yielded first to a sullen humiliation, and then to worse—to a dishonourable vindictiveness.

He began by writing anonymous letters to Sir Henry Clinton;

[1] Ludlow, the historian, has said that "there was no braver soldier in the American ranks than Benedict Arnold, the hero of the Canadian campaign, the real victor at Stillwater."

and, eighteen months later, having obtained the command at West Point, by far the most important post of the Americans, he offered to Sir Henry to deliver it, as well as other posts, into the hands of the British. In the absence of Washington, Major André, the Adjutant-General of the British army, was sent to confer with Arnold. Their secret meetings are said to have been held at more than one of those old mansions, whose association with the leading figures of this epoch has clothed them with historic interest. The Beverly-Robinson House (a portion of old Philipse Manor) on the east bank of the Hudson and nearly opposite West Point, was made use of by the conspirators, of whom one was the owner, Colonel Beverly Robinson, a British officer who had served with distinction under Wolfe at the storming of Quebec.[1] Another scene of these treacherous meetings is said to have been the McComb Mansion on Broadway, which was subsequently called "The Mansion House" when General Washington took up his residence there on moving from the Franklin House.[2] The terms of the plot were finally concluded on the morning of 22nd August, 1780, when André met Arnold at the Smith House, near Haverstraw, on the Hudson, standing on what is now fittingly called *Treason Hill.*

The latter, having been promised, as the price of his betrayal, the rank of Brigadier-General and the sum of ten thousand pounds, handed over, then and there, plans of West Point with a statement of its condition. These Major André hid in his stockings, and then turned to re-embark on board the sloop of war *Vulture*, on which he had come. Their consternation can be imagined when it was discovered that the *Vulture* had been obliged to shift her position! A

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[1] Colonel Robinson was a brother-in-law of Colonel Roger Morris, whose home became known as the residence of Madame Jumel, and who, like his friend General Maunsell, had also served at Quebec under General Wolfe.

[2] Franklin House was, at the time of its tenancy by General Washington, the property of Samuel Osgood, who had married Walter Franklin's widow. A grandson of Samuel Osgood, the late Osgood Field, of Rome, married a descendant of Lieutenant Thomas Tracy, the subject of this chapter. Two other grandsons of Samuel Osgood, the late Augustus Field and William H. Field, married two daughters of the late Samuel Stillwell Bradhurst. In the succeeding generation, William Bradhurst Field has assumed the surname of Osgood, in addition to, and before that of Field.

hasty deliberation—and André set out on foot to New York, with a pass from Arnold under the name of "John Anderson." Almost within sight of the British lines he was stopped by three militiamen, whom he vainly tried to bribe, and was searched. The compromising documents were found, and he was taken to the nearest American post. The news soon reached Arnold, who immediately escaped to the *Vulture*. Hearing of his safety, Major André openly announced his name and rank. When tried by court-martial as a spy, his specious but scarcely tenable plea, of having come under a flag of truce on the invitation of an American General, availed him nothing. Major André was found guilty and was hanged. His remains are now in Westminster Abbey among those whom England honours most; and it is customary, on both sides of the Atlantic, to speak of this spy as Arnold's *gallant* "victim," forsooth!

As for Benedict Arnold, although thus prevented from fulfilling his share of the base contract, he received his reward; and, although he succeeded in doing some damage to the country of his desertion, he never again distinguished himself, and "remained for all future time *the traitor Arnold*." His last exploits were such as might have been expected. They comprised the invasion of Connecticut, his native state! the burning of New London, of whose Dragoons his ancestor, Thomas Tracy, had been the second in command! and, finally, the storming of Fort Griswold, when he refused to give the garrison of 150 militiamen quarter!

On the first announcement of his flight from West Point, General Washington had been caused some uneasiness as to the extent to which such disaffection might spread. To discover what grounds there might be for such fears, a plan—known only to himself and Colonel Lee—was formed for the introduction of a spy into the British lines, and at the same time for the capture of Arnold. The task was entrusted to a Sergeant-Major, named Champe, who, having reluctantly undertaken it, displayed a spirit worthy of something nobler. One evening an American patrol reported having seen a deserter galloping away beyond the line. Champe and his horse were found to be missing. Finding that his pursuers, although delayed under some pretext by Colonel Lee, were overtaking him, the Sergeant-Major dashed into the river where some British patrol-boats, whose notice he had attracted, covered his

flight and picked him up. He was taken before Sir Henry Clinton; but that Commander, who had not been deceived in Arnold, was completely deceived by Champe. The latter soon succeeded in sending General Washington a message which relieved him of all anxiety as to the spread of disaffection. It was not long before Champe obtained a commission as a recruiting-sergeant to General Arnold, who was now raising a corps for the King's service, having issued proclamations offering military preferment to such American officers and men as would desert their colours. Thus far the plan of Washington and Lee was successful, but in the execution of the remainder of their scheme Champe was thwarted. He had arranged to seize Arnold in the garden attached to his quarters, and convey him away, as a drunken soldier, in a boat. But it so happened that the quarters of the General were changed, and that Champe himself was ordered elsewhere with his corps. The latter was finally rewarded by Washington, and received an honourable discharge lest he should again fall into the enemy's hands.

Some years later when Washington wished to give him a Captain's commission, he learned that the Sergeant-Major had died.

And now, with an apology for this digression into the career of Benedict Arnold, let us return to Thomas Tracy, an ancestor of whom he was so unworthy.

BRADFORD AND TRACY*

Thomas BOURNE,
of
Marshfield,
Massachusetts

Governor William BRADFORD, of Plymouth Colony
Sailed in the *Mayflower*, 1620
married
(1st) Dorothy May (2nd) 1st August, 1623, Alice, widow of Edward Southworth, and daughter of Alexander Carpenter

Thomas Tracy, of Norwich, Connecticut, married, as his 2nd wife, Martha Bourne, widow of John Bradford
(*b.* in England, 1610) (*b.* in England; *d.* 1678)
Was in America in 1636. Had issue only by his 1st wife, Mary Mason. Their second son— Stationed at Norwich, Con., with Thomas Tracy, 1675-6

William Bradford (Major)
(*b.* in Plymouth, 17th June, 1624)
married
Alice, daughter of Thomas Richards

Thomas Tracy, of Preston
(*b.* 1644)

Hannah Bradford
(*b.* 1663)
married, 28th November, 1682, Joshua Ripley, of Windham
(*b.* 9th May, 1658)

Jeremiah Tracy
married
Mary (Witter?)

Faith Ripley
(*b.* 20th September, 1686)
married, 5th January, 1708-9, Captain Samuel Bingham
(*b.* 28th March, 1685)

Andrew Tracy, of Lisbon
married
Ruth, daughter of Captain Smith, of Barnstaple, Massachusetts

Lemuel Bingham, of Windham
(*b.* 20th September, 1713)
married (1st) 28th April 1737, Hannah, daughter of Joseph Perkins, by Martha Morgan, of Preston

Jesse Tracy, of Lisbon = Faith Bingham
[*m.* 27th September, 1770]
(*b.* 31st December, 1745) (*b.* 1744-5)

Their youngest son,

Felix Tracy, of Oramel = Henrietta Magdalena, daughter of
(*b.* 3rd March, 1788; *d.* 20th March, 1861) Christian Wilhelm Wilmerding

* From data kindly supplied by Mr. Dwight Tracy

CHAPTER VIII

TRACY OF NEW ENGLAND

FIVE of Thomas Tracy's six sons married and left descendants; but to treat of this large family in all its branches is beyond the limit of these pages. A complete history of the Tracys would in itself form a portly volume; moreover, it is not our purpose here to do more than to give a brief sketch of them, in so far as they are connected with the Bradhursts and Wilmerdings. We must therefore confine ourselves, as far as possible, to that particular line of the Tracys with which we are concerned, in the same way that we have attempted to do in our accounts of the Buchanan, Pell, Sands, and Stillwell families. Before passing over Thomas Tracy's eldest son, John Tracy (born 1642), we may remark that he was the progenitor of a line of which there were no less than seven all bearing the same name. The sixth John Tracy was Lieutenant-Governor of New York for six years. His son, the seventh John Tracy, lost his life skating when only nine or ten years of age. To this branch, which is remarkable for its statesmen and able lawyers, belonged Uriah Tracy, who at the time of his death was serving his third term in the United States Senate, and was the first person buried in the Congressional Cemetery. "He was a brilliant man and orator, and a great wit. He was class-mate of Noah Webster at Yale College, and is mentioned in Webster's memoir in his unabridged Dictionary; and, under the word '*immolated*' in the Dictionary, Webster quotes from one of Uriah Tracy's speeches."[1] The question, not unnaturally, presents itself as to whether this branch was not entitled to the Baronetcy; and, if so, should it not have passed, on

[1] (Extract from a letter of Gilbert Tracy)—The quotation is not given in the 1894 enlarged edition of Webster's Dictionary, but may be found in some of the older ones, and is in that of 1851. The quotation is:

"From the same altar on which the small states shall be *immolated*, will rise the smoke of sacrificed liberty, and despotism must be the dreadful successor."

the death of the last John Tracy of this line, to the representative of the next branch?[1]

The second son of Thomas Tracy was Thomas Tracy, of Preston, born in 1644. In the Colonial Records he is called "Ensign Thomas Tracy," and is mentioned as having been appointed by the General Court to establish certain boundaries of Preston, which town he also represented in the General Court at various times. Indeed, he and his brothers appear to have been remarkably well educated, and to have conducted the public affairs with which they were frequently entrusted with great efficiency. He had a son named Jeremiah Tracy (for these Puritan New Englanders were fond of Biblical names), who was the father of Andrew Tracy, of Lisbon, New London County. Andrew, we are told, was noted for his piety. He married Ruth, daughter of Captain Smith, of Barnstable, Massachusetts, by whom he had a large family.[2]

Andrew's second son, Jesse Tracy, of Lisbon (New London), married Faith, daughter of Lemuel Bingham, of Windham, a descendant of Governor Bradford. This formed the second link between that well-known "Pilgrim Father" and this branch of the Tracys. But besides this, the latter were connected with the Binghams by several intermarriages; for instance, Faith Bingham's only brother married Mary Tracy, of Lisbon; her sister, Anna Bingham, married Andrew Tracy, *of Cornish*,[3] and her uncle, John Perkins, had married Lydia Tracy. Again, Deborah Bingham, a great-aunt of Faith, had married Stephen Tracy, who, however, belonged to another family of the name, his grandfather having been a certain Stephen Tracy, of Plymouth Colony in 1628, of whose Will Governor Bradford was executor.[4] It

[1] A claim to this Baronetcy would not include any claim to any of the estates formerly held by the family. It would be but the revival of an empty title, the merit of which consists in the early date of its creation.

[2] Andrew Tracy, of Lisbon, had eleven children. The united ages of ten of them were 811 years.

[3] Andrew Tracy, of Cornish, must not be confused with Andrew Tracy, of Lisbon.

[4] Stephen Tracy, of Plymouth Colony, in 1628, came to America in the ship *Ann*. He returned to England, leaving his children in America. His Will was dated at Yarmouth. William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth Colony, was the executor in America. Among the leading Quakers of Yarmouth, in 1661, was a Thomas Tracey. One of the oldest houses in Yarmouth was, in 1674, the property of a William Tracey. These two last spelt their names with an "e."

EXCELSIOR
BY THE HONORABLE
SMITH THOMPSON, ESQ.
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the People of the State of New-York,
TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:
KNOW YE, That Felix Tracy
having, on examination in this present Term of August been admitted and appointed by the said Court, a Counsellor at Law, I do hereby Authorize and License him to practice in the said Court as a Counsellor, according to the Laws of this State, and the Rules and Orders of the said Court.
Given under my Hand and Seal, the fourteenth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twelve and the Thirty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

Felix Tracy's License as Counsellor-at-Law

is impossible here to go further into these genealogical complications. Suffice it to say that Jesse Tracy and Faith Bingham were united by many ties of relationship.

Their eighth and youngest son, Felix Tracy, of Lisbon, and subsequently of Oramel, N.Y., was born 3rd March, 1788. He inherited the Puritan characteristics of his race to a marked degree, and some of his letters to his brother-in-law, John Maunsell Bradhurst, remind one of the style displayed in the famous "heretical" Will of his ancestor, Sir William Tracy, of Toddington, and in the writings of Richard Tracy of Stanway. As a young man Mr. Felix Tracy was studiously inclined, fond of the Classics, and a notable Greek and Latin scholar; but, as he grew older, his reading was hampered, at least in his own tongue, by the severity of his religious opinions; and he scouted, and became intolerant of all that appeared frivolous from his own point of view. At the age of twenty-five he became Attorney-at-Law in the State of New York (11th August, 1813); and later (14th August, 1816) he became Counsellor-at-Law. His Licences are in the possession of his grandson, Augustus Maunsell Bradhurst.

CHAPTER IX

A FADING MEMORY

FELIX TRACY married, in 1824, Henrietta Magdalena, second daughter of Christian William Wilmerding. Her name will still recall to some the stately carriage and rustling silks of a past generation, together with a keen wit and appreciation of humour. Her gift of mimicry and ready tongue gained for her, in her girlhood, the appellation of "The Ape," from her father; and once when—nettled by her flippancy—he called her "An Ass," she instantly retorted:

> "If a man call an 'Ape' an 'Ass,'
> 'Tis his own conscience holds the glass."

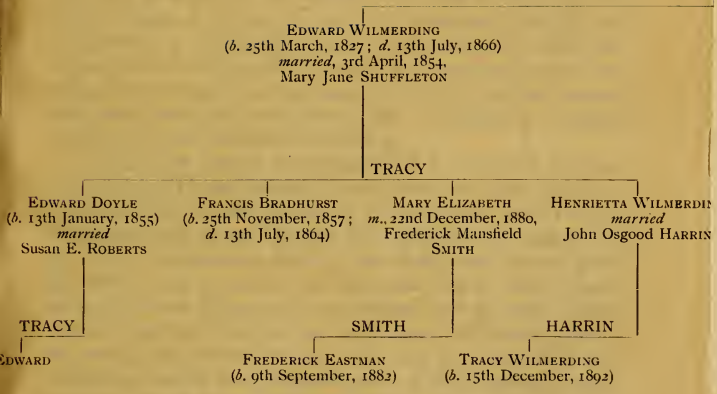
She is said to have been that young lady who, when in a quandary one winter's day, as to how Broadway could be crossed through the deep snow, found herself suddenly seized by an uncouth but well-meaning passer-by, and carried to the other side. But her indignation far exceeding her gratitude, she hurled such vituperations at him that the stranger, exclaiming, "Then back you go!" picked her up and carried her back, leaving her in her fury where he had found her!

To her has been attributed the story of the damsel who (about 1812) overheard two British officers discussing the fairness of her complexion as they walked behind her. On overtaking her, one of them ejaculated:

"*Painted!*—by God!"

"Sir, you have named the Painter," she promptly exclaimed, throwing back her veil as she swept him a curtsey.

During the war of 1812 the gallant appearance of the British inspired her with more admiration than was altogether pleasing to her family—her brother-in-law being then the Captain of "Bradhurst's Regulars," and most of her relatives being American. When remonstrated with on account of her out-spoken admiration, she defiantly


EDWARD WILMERDING
(b. 25th March, 1827; d. 13th July, 1866)
married, 3rd April, 1854,
Mary Jane SHUFFLETON
TRACY
EDWARD DOYLE
(b. 13th January, 1855)
married
Susan E. ROBERTS
FRANCIS BRADHURST
(b. 25th November, 1857;
d. 13th July, 1864)
MARY ELIZABETH
m., 22nd December, 1880,
Frederick Mansfield
SMITH
HENRIETTA WILMERDIN
married
John Osgood HARRIN
TRACY
SMITH
HARRIN
EDWARD
FREDERICK EASTMAN
(b. 9th September, 1882)
TRACY WILMERDING
(b. 15th December, 1892)

declared that she would never marry any one but a man of English descent, *and that his name should be either Tracy or Talbot.* At that time she was unacquainted with any one of either name. Twelve years later she married Felix Tracy, whose forefather hailed from Gloucestershire, and, by a yet stranger coincidence, she lived to see her eldest granddaughter married to a Talbot!

The unfavourable comparisons which she so bitterly drew between the Americans and the British were, by no means, due to any lack of patriotism, but rather to her keen desire to see the former outshine "the enemy." At this period, many of her letters, full of stirring patriotism, addressed to her brother-in-law, Captain Bradhurst, fell into the hands of the British; and, long afterwards, when he was being toasted by an English Admiral, he was surprised to hear from his host that the British officers considered it small wonder that their opponents had shown such gallantry in 1812, if they had received such letters from their women-folk as had been addressed to Captain Bradhurst by Miss Henrietta Wilmerding!

She was left a widow 20th March, 1861, her husband, Mr. Felix Tracy, dying at Oramel, Allegany County, New York. They had three sons,[1]—the late Edward Wilmerding Tracy; the late Felix Tracy, of Sacramento; and the late Theodore Frelinghuysen Tracy (called after his father's distinguished friend of that name)—and one daughter, Elizabeth. They all married and had issue. Their mother passed her latter years in Europe with her daughter and son-in-law, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, who was also her nephew. She was in Berlin at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, and her sympathies, as a Wilmerding, hailing from Brunswick, were of course entirely German. Moreover, her eldest granddaughter had married an officer in the Prussian Dragoons, and Mrs. Tracy counted among her relatives the

[1] The two elder brothers, Edward and Felix, when only about twenty years of age, accompanied by their cousin, the late J. Clute Wilmerding, a lad of sixteen, chartered a schooner—the *Samuel M. Fox*—and sailed from New York to California, via Cape Horn, reaching the "Golden Gate" 21st September, 1849. Felix Tracy, the younger, finally settled at Sacramento, California. He was held in high esteem by all with whom his business brought him in contact; and he was one of three prominent citizens to whose perseverance the University of Berkely, California, owes its existence.

wife of General von Löwenfeld.[1] Another of her cousins in Germany was Rudolph Henneberg, the famous painter.[2] Mrs. Tracy died at Reigate, in England, 25th December, 1873, aged eighty-five years, and was buried in the Bradhurst Vault, Reigate, Surrey.

And now, although we cannot halt here, leaving our task unfinished, let us but touch lightly upon more recent years. Their wounds are scarcely healed, and their joys, let us hope, will linger, unwritten, in our recollections a while longer. It has been our purpose only to dust faint documents, and to clear the mists of fast-fading memories, but not to write modern memoirs nor to chronicle the every-day events which you and I remember.

Let us, therefore, pass briefly to a conclusion.

. . . . . .

[1] Mrs. Tracy's aunt, the Baroness Schilling von Canstadt, *née* von Falkenhan, was the mother of Frau General von Löwenfeld.

[2] His mother was a Wilmerding of Brunswick.

"A Group of Three"

Henrietta and Margaret Noyes, and their brother, Maunsell Bradhurst

CHAPTER X

"VALE!"

ELIZABETH, the only daughter of Felix Tracy by Henrietta Magdalena Wilmerding, was born at Moscow, Livingston County, New York, 18th August, 1825; and her education was carefully supervised by her learned father. She married firstly, in 1848, Russell George Noyes, of Geneseo, in the above County and State, whose family was of French extraction. (He was a nephew of the late Richard Gay, of Senecca Falls.) By this marriage she had two daughters:

1. HENRIETTA CLARISSA NOYES, married, 1st June, 1870, in Berlin, Gerald Francis Talbot,[1] 2nd Prussian Dragoon Guards—afterwards Lieut.-Colonel Royal Staffordshire Yeomanry—son of the late Hon. and Rev. William Chetwynd Talbot. By him, who died 2nd January, 1904, Mrs. Talbot had issue:

(1) *Henry Charles Augustus Talbot*, born 9th April, 1871; died 20th October, 1875.

(2) *Victor Adelbert William Gerald Talbot*, born 23rd July, 1872; married, 28th December, 1903, Florence, daughter of John Bland, of the Grove, Eccles.

(3) *Bertram William Chetwynd Talbot*, born 15th December, 1876; married, 19th October, 1904, Edith Marian, only daughter of Lieut.-General Sir Charles Knight Pearson, C.B., K.C.M.G., and has a daughter, Marian Adelaide.

(4) *Stafford Cecil Talbot*, born 3rd May, 1880; married, 30th October, 1905, Ethel Lilian, daughter of the late Robert Gault, of Montreal, and has a daughter, Charlotte Henrietta.

(5) *Gerald Francis Talbot*, born 21st August, 1881.

---

[1] By an odd coincidence, he was a cousin (through his mother, *née* Coventry) of the late Lady Holland, daughter-in-law of that Elizabeth Vassall, the celebrated Lady Holland mentioned in an earlier chapter. (*Vide* Genealogy, showing "Descendants of Elizabeth, Lady Holland.")

(6) *Louise Victoria Gisela Talbot*, to whom H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll (then Marchioness of Lorne), stood sponsor.

2. Margaret Elizabeth Noyes, married 16th December, 1874, at Reigate, Surrey, Augustus Henry Mounsey, British Minister to the United States of Columbia (where he died 10th April, 1882, at Bogota), author of *The Satsuma Rebellion*, etc., son of G. G. Mounsey, of Castletown, Cumberland. They had issue:

(1) *George Augustus Mounsey*, born 21st December, 1879.
(2) *Evelyn Isabella Mounsey.*
(3) *Margaret Elizabeth Anna Mounsey.*

At little more than thirty years of age, Mr. Noyes died in San Francisco, his two daughters, Mrs. Talbot and Mrs. Mounsey, being then small children. His unimpeachable honour and force of character had already won for him a wide circle of friends, and the Press mourned him as one whose life was full of promise.

His widow married secondly, 30th September, 1857, her cousin, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, of Pinehurst. In 1860, Mr. Bradhurst was one of the Committee of the Ball given in New York in honour of King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, on which occasion the hothouses at Pinehurst were stripped of their rarest blossoms. But the charm of this country home on the Hudson, within a drive of the City, was already on the wane. There was no room for the continuance of such an estate within reach of the City of New York. Streets and avenues were opened irrespective of the landowner's consent; heavy taxation and the removal of old landmarks ensued, not always quickly, but always inevitably. In 1863 Mr. Bradhurst lost, within a month, both his elder children:

1. Elizabeth Wilmerding Bradhurst ("Lillie"), born at Pinehurst, 28th July, 1858; died 17th December, 1863.

2. Theodore Falkenhan Bradhurst, born at Pinehurst, 20th February, 1860; died 23rd November, 1863.

The associations of his home having now grown painful beyond endurance, Mr. Bradhurst and his family (after the birth of his third

STATUE OF "LILLIE"
(ELIZABETH WILMERDING BRADHURST)
By Benzoni, Rome, 27th April, 1861

and youngest child, Augustus Maunsell, in 1865) departed for Europe, where he had previously travelled, having driven from Paris to Rome by *Diligence*, as was then the fashion. Some ten years passed ere he returned to his native land, and then only for a few months, when he saw the changes which marked alike the rapid growth of New York City and the destruction of Pinehurst. The old Colonial house, changed almost beyond recognition, was for a time a suburban hotel, and now it is no more. One of the streets opened through the estate was at first called "Coogan Avenue" by the authorities, through the influence of a person of that name, who pretended to be the representative of General Maunsell, who, it was stated, was the original owner of the property, having received a grant of it from the Duke of York! The Duke of York became James II. of England, and died in 1701, and General Maunsell was not born until after that date! Neither is there any of the name of "Coogan" among the relatives of General Maunsell in Ireland, nor among those of his wife in America. The residents and owners of property in the new "Avenue" were indignant. They protested, and petitioned that its name should be altered to "Bradhurst Avenue," partly in honour of John Maunsell Bradhurst, and no less in honour of his son, Henry Maunsell Bradhurst; because the latter, after selling the sites which it was supposed would have frontage on this street, having found that, by a deviation of the original plan, he was still possessed of a long strip depriving them of frontage, presented it to the purchasers by Deed of Gift, thus fulfilling *the spirit* of his sale to them. This strip of land, depriving these lots of free access to the new avenue, would be of considerable value. Although *Bradhurst Avenue* thus owes its name to the generosity of Henry Maunsell Bradhurst, it is generally supposed to have been named solely after his father.

Henry Maunsell Bradhurst died 26th October, 1894, at The Moat, Pebmarsh, Essex, aged seventy-two, and was buried in the family vault at Reigate, Surrey, with his wife and her mother. His wife (Elizabeth Tracy, widow of R. G. Noyes) had predeceased him, having died at Versailles, near Paris, on her fifty-fourth birthday, 18th August, 1879. Her only son, and his only surviving child, is:

Augustus Maunsell Bradhurst, born at Pinehurst, 17th September, 1865. He married 24th June, 1893, at Wakes Colne,

Essex, Minna Evangeline, only daughter of Charles Page Wood (son of Sir John Page Wood, Bart.), of Wakes Hall, Essex, by Minna, daughter of Thomas White, of Wethersfield Manor and Berechurch Hall, Essex (and granddaughter of Sir G. H. Smyth, of Berechurch, 6th and last Bart. of Upton). They have issue one daughter:

Christine Evangeline Minna Elizabeth Bradhurst, whose name shall be the last, as it also is the first, in these pages which to her are

DEDICATED.

Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds — *Engraved by F. Bartolozzi*

Lady Smyth *

"Tra Pensier vaghi, e paurosa Speme,
L'intenerito Cuor or gode or treme."

Vincenzo da Filicaja.

* Lady Smyth's son became Sir G. H. Smyth, 6th and last Baronet, of Upton, whose only daughter, Charlotte Sophia, heiress of Berechurch, Essex, married Thomas White, of Wethersfield Manor. On the death of their only son, the late Thomas Graham White, this picture—which had been exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1789—was sold for 1,250 guineas. It was re-sold for about £3,000 to the late Mr. Crawford; and, on the death of his widow (the Dowager Duchess of Montrose), it was sold to Mr. Martin Colnaghi for 1,800 guineas; from whom it was purchased by the late C. P. Huntington, of New York, in accordance with whose testamentary injunctions it is destined finally to pass to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Mrs. Charles Page Wood, of Wakes Colne Hall, Essex, is a sister of the late Thomas Graham White, of Berechurch Hall and Wethersfield Manor, Essex, and a granddaughter of Sir G. H. Smyth, the boy in the picture.

LIX TRACY
County, Connecticut, 3rd Ma
Faith BINGHAM, of Windha
on the Roll of Battle Abbe
ndy, in 956. He became At
d at Oramel, Allegany Coun
. at Brunswick, Germany, 7t
ughter of Christian Willian
E VON FALKENHAHN

RE FRELINGHUYSEN
1830; *d.* 18th August, 1886)
, 23rd April, 1859,
gusta FOSTER

ember, 1857, her cousin,
URST, of Pinehurst, who
n of John Maunsell Brad-
st daughter of Christian
ilmerding)

TRACY

LLIAM EDWARD
h October, 1866)
n December, 1892,
Elizabeth CORBELL

FREI
(*b.* 31st
d. 11th

BRADHURST

AUGUSTUS MAUNSELL
(*b.* 17th September, 1865)
m., 24th June, 1893, Minna Evangeline,
daughter of Charles Page WOOD, of
Wakes Colne Hall, Essex

ELIZABETH WILMERDING
(*b.* 28th July, 1858;
d. 17th December, 1863)

BRADHURST

R ADELBERT
AM GERALD
l July, 1872)
December, 1903.
e, daughter of
n BLAND

BERTR
CH
(*b.* 15th D
m., 19th
Edith Mar
Lieut.-Ger
Knigh
C.B.

LLA

MARGARET
ELIZABETH ANNA

CHRISTINE EVANGELINE
MINNA ELIZABETH

MARI

Savages of Berechurch, Essex, and [illegible] Tracys [illegible] from their common ancestor the first Great Chamberlain of England

ALBERIC DE VERE,
Great Chamberlain of England, *temp.* Henry I

AUBREY DE VERE, Earl of Oxford

ROBERT DE VERE,
who became 3rd Earl of Oxford

HUGH DE VERE, 4th Earl of Oxford

ROBERT DE VERE, 5th Earl of Oxford,
whose monument is at Colne Priory, Essex

Lady JOANE DE VERE = William PLANTAGENET, son of the Earl of Warrenne and Surrey

Lady ALICE PLANTAGENET = Edmund FITZALAN, 8th Earl of Arundel

RICHARD FITZALAN, 9th Earl of Arundel

RICHARD FITZALAN, 10th Earl of Arundel

ELIZABETH FITZALAN, widow = Sir Robert GOUSHILL, of Heveringham
of the Duke of Norfolk

JANE GOUSHILL = Thomas, Lord STANLEY

CATHARINE STANLEY = Sir John SAVAGE, of Clifton

MARGARET SAVAGE = Sir Edmond TRAFFORD, of Trafford

Sir EDMOND TRAFFORD, of Trafford

THOMAS TRAFFORD

RICHARD TRAFFORD

RICHARD TRAFFORD, of Low Leyton

JOHN TRAFFORD, of Dunton and Low Leyton

JANE TRAFFORD = Sir Robert SMYTH, 2nd Bart., of Upton

Sir ROBERT SMYTH, 3rd Bart., M.P.

Rev. ROBERT SMYTH

Sir ROBERT SMYTH, M.P., of Berechurch,
who became 5th Bart.

Sir GEORGE HENRY SMYTH, of Berechurch,
6th and last Bart. of Upton

CHARLOTTE SOPHIA SMYTH = Thomas WHITE, of Wethersfield Manor

MINNA WHITE = Charles PAGE WOOD, of Wakes Colne Hall

JULIANA DE VERE = Hugh BIGOT, Earl of "The East Angles"

ROGER BIGOD, Earl of Norfolk

Lady MARGERY BIGOD = William DE HASTINGS

HENRY DE HASTINGS

HENRY DE HASTINGS

HENRY, Lord HASTINGS

JOHN, 2nd Baron HASTINGS

ELIZABETH HASTINGS = Roger, Lord DE GREY DE RUTHYN

REGINALD, Lord GREY DE RUTHYN

REGINALD, Lord GREY DE RUTHYN

ELEANORE DE GREY = William LUCY, of Charlecote

Sir WILLIAM LUCY, of Charlecote

EDWARD LUCY, of Charlecote

Sir THOMAS LUCY, of Charlecote

BARBARA LUCY = Richard TRACY, of Stanway

Sir PAUL TRACY, Bart., of Stanway

THOMAS TRACY, of Norwich, Connecticut

THOMAS TRACY, of Preston

JEREMIAH TRACY

ANDREW TRACY, of Lisbon, New London County

JESSE TRACY, of Lisbon

FELIX TRACY, of Oramel, New York

ELIZABETH TRACY = (2nd) Henry M. BRADHURST, of Pinehurst

MINNA EVANGELINE PAGE WOOD = AUGUSTUS MAUNSELL BRADHURST

CHRISTINE EVANGELINE MINNA ELIZABETH BRADHURST

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